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FINAL REPORT

(Part II)
(Volume I)

Author: K.A. Heard

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PART II

VOLUME I

BILINGUALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Report prepared for the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

K.A. Heard

July 1966.

July, 1966

BILINGUALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Comparative Studies. Data Book on South Africa

Part II

by

Prof. K.A. Heard

Arts and Letters

Voluntary Associations

Political Parties and Voting
Behaviour

Prof. J.L. Sadie

Private Business*

John G. Gordon

Newspapers and Broadcasting

* This report is an external contract and
is published separately.

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COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Data Book on South Africa (Part II)

This volume is one of a series presenting the findings of the Commission's programme of research into the experiences of certain selected countries that are, like Canada, faced with problems of bilingualism and biculturalism.

To facilitate the work of the Commission, the material has been organized and paginated so as to correspond with the subject matter of the six study groups. Studies of interest to Groups A, B and C were included in the first part of the data book. The remaining material is presented as follows:

<u>For study group:</u>	<u>Subject of Section</u>	<u>Pagination</u>
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Material that is not ready at the time of distribution will be published in the form of supplements as it becomes available.

Readers are reminded of the general section, paginated in a simple numerical series, that may be found in Part I of the report. This section provides both an historical introduction, dealing with the linguistic, cultural and social development of South Africa, and a more precise demographic and statistical profile.

Supervisor: Kenneth D. Mac Rae

Judy Dibben
July 1966

OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

The Data Book on South Africa has concentrated on that section of the White population whose home language is English or Afrikaans. The non-White population - the Coloureds, Asiatics and Bantu - was excluded from consideration as being unable to provide any useful comparison with other cultural groups in Canada. As for the remaining sections of the White population whose home languages are neither Afrikaans nor English, it was not felt worthwhile to make a separate study for four reasons:

1. The South African census contains no ethnic origin question. We are therefore, deprived of all accurate information as to the size, incomes, occupations, etc., of the various groups.
2. Generally speaking, the groups have no clear geographical base, but are, rather, interspersed throughout the European population, with perhaps some concentration in recent years in the cities.
3. Many of the significant groups appear to be fairly late arrivals and have had, consequently, little time to set up their own organizations. This and the previous factor mean that so far the groups have had little impact on the country.
4. Division within the White population on ethnic as well as other lines is reduced by a constant awareness of the large black majority surrounding it. There is, then, a strong pressure towards solidarity.

For data on broadcasting in European languages other than the official languages, see pp. E 227 and E 247.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS
IN INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN
SOUTH AFRICA

by

K. A. Heard

July 1966

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Social and Cultural Factors in Inter-Group
¹
Relations in South Africa .

General

On the whole it is probably true to say that affective positive social relations subsume in some degree common cultural terms of reference. Whether any individual can fully enter into the world, not only of thought but of feeling and belief, of people of a quite distinct culture is highly doubtful. Conscious effort may be made to achieve this empathy and insight - e.g. by anthropologists, or poets and novelists - by those who place high value for one or other reason on cross-cultural social relations. On the whole, however, such attempts are likely to achieve only limited success; and on the whole, too, these attempts are limited to a select few². The normal pattern of social intercourse is that it takes place among those who share a common culture. Numerous examples come to mind. An anthropologist friend of the author's has been conducting a study of acculturation among African domestic servants working in the Durban area. Clearly a degree of acculturation takes place, as it does among all settled urbanized

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1. The author must point out that he has no special competence in the general field of this chapter. What follows is based simply on the experience and reading of a South African, brought up and educated in the country, with friends among all major groups; but it is not the product of specialized study.
 2. This is not to deny the value of such attempts.

Africans; but what is remarkable, at least on the basis of the tentative findings of the investigator is the smallness of the impact on the main elements of their culture that is made, in spite of long and relatively close contact. The unassimilated ethnic minorities in countries receiving immigrants is another, more wellknown, example of the general proposition.

This factor is of considerable, perhaps paramount, importance in the South African situation. Specific manifestations of the differences in culture that exist in South Africa - e.g. colour, language, style of dress - often tend to be taken for the whole and thus to receive disproportionate emphasis. Nevertheless these overt signs of difference are re-inforcing factors in the retention of cultural distinctness and thus serve as inhibiting factors in the process of acculturation including cross-cultural social intercourse. Where cultural differences are further characterised in the popular mind with concepts of superiority and inferiority, prejudice and mutual antagonism act as further reinforcing factors, made especially powerful in that they are particularly prone to be injected into the political debate.

It is for these reasons that an understanding of the cultural patterns in the South African society is so essential for any understanding of South African social and political

institutions. A fundamental question that comes immediately to mind is whether there is a South African culture? The answer to this question may well turn on definition, but one can perhaps attempt an answer along these lines: the most characteristic feature of cultural patterns in South Africa is that of diversity or heterogeneity. Whether this interaction of differences on each other can be said to be itself a culture or the milieu in which the various cultures develop is not so important for our purposes as the facts which the statement seeks to describe. We may perhaps most conveniently refer to this condition of the interaction of differences on each other as the South African culture, and refer to the effects of this culture on the sub-cultures that proliferate within it.

Each of the sub-cultures in South Africa, then, is influenced by the cultural diversity in which it exists. Neither that of the English-speaking section nor that of the Afrikaner (or Jew, or German, or Pole, etc.), neither that of the Bantu nor that of the Asian, would be the same if it had not developed within this milieu. Whether they like it or not, the culture of each group has been modified by the fact of the existence of all others. If we refer, for example, to the laager mentality of Afrikaners, it is safe to say that the laager reaction would not have arisen if the surrounding cultural environment had not been thought of as threatening,

and that in so far as it exists it profoundly affects the character of the Afrikaans culture, although, in its turn, it also derives from the Afrikaners' earlier cultural heritage¹. And one might say, further, that however strong the laager may be it is still not sufficiently impregnable to prevent the infiltration of other cultural influences and that these, too, have modified the nature of the Afrikaans culture.

What has been said here of the Afrikaners applies, mutatis mutandis and to a greater or lesser degree, to the other sub-cultures as well. In particular, it should be emphasised that the Afrikaners are not the only ones to exhibit a defensive, laager reaction to the impinging effect of cultural differences. The barricades may not be so deliberately and elaborately constructed, but they are nevertheless perceptible. The degree of inter-marriage, for example, not only between White and non-White, but also between African and Asian, has always been remarkably low, with or without legislative prohibitions. One finds examples, too, of ambivalent attitudes to cultural differences, especially at the superficial level of their manifestation. It is not true only of South

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1. As a side issue it is significant how often Afrikaners themselves refer to the analogy of the dyke - the earth walls protecting the Netherlands from the sea. But not only as a result of their physical environment but also as a result of the Netherlands' precarious relations with more powerful states, the early Dutch settlers probably brought with them to the Cape a certain defensive cast of mind.

African Europeans, but it is particularly true of them, that they consider a deeply tanned skin much more attractive than a white one, and, indeed, have feelings almost of shame when they are "too" white. Why is this, one wonders? Has it any significance? On the other side, "smart" African women spend a great deal of money on complexion lighteners and hair straighteners; but at times of racial tensions, extremist Africans have assaulted African women wearing their hair "European style" or applying European-type cosmetics. These are perhaps trivial examples, but the studies of social psychologists suggest that they are symptomatic of a deeper psychological ambivalence characterised generally by the attraction-aversion, or love-hate syndrome, manifesting itself as well at the sexual level as an interaction between desire and guilt-feelings.

The effects of the interaction of these sub-cultures on one another are generally subtle and not easily isolated. In general, one of the most patent characteristics of the South African culture is the degree of relative self-containment of each of the sub-cultures. On the whole, the normal form of social relationship is that operating within a single sub-culture. Those relationships that cut across the sub-cultural boundaries are for the most part functions of economic rather than of social life and generally do little to modify attitudes. This is less true with respect to relations between

Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans than it is between the major racial groups, but it is still true to an extent even with them.

Our primary concern is with English-speaking/Afrikaans relations. What has been said so far has been intended to indicate that these relations need to be understood within the cultural framework within which they operate. A far fuller study of this general cultural framework would obviously be desirable but is not possible within the scope of this essay¹. At least, however, enough has perhaps been said to demonstrate that neither the Afrikaans nor the English-South African subculture is discrete; nor, indeed, is that of "White South Africa". With this proviso in mind, we can more safely proceed to a somewhat more detailed discussion of the Afrikaans, English-South African, and "White South African" sub-cultures and their interaction on one another. Rather than discussing each of these in turn, however, we shall attempt to analyze these differences and their interaction on one another under the following heads: (1) history and tradition, (2) religion, (3) language, (4) social differences, (5) cultural activity, (6) sport.

1. To the best of the author's knowledge, no such study has ever been made. It would obviously be an ambitious undertaking.

1. History and Tradition

One of the ameliorative factors in English-Afrikaans relations is the similarity in many respects of their ancestral traditions. While it is true that England and Holland occasionally found themselves at war with each other, there was nevertheless a contrasting history of joint endeavour and, at least, of contact - e.g., the Marian exiles. Moreover, there were significant points of cultural similarity; both were northern European and predominantly Protestant, both were seafaring nations and also centres of commerce, both were small nations with traditions of industry and enterprise. Enough of this similarity of cultural heritage no doubt remains in their South African descendants to facilitate mutual intercourse; and although this may have been overlaid by rather sharper differences and periods of antagonism it has perhaps had an influence in containing hostilities.

Of more immediate importance, however, in promoting mutual acceptance is the operation of at least some of those factors which are generally accepted as promoting a sense of national unity. There is, for example, their sharing of a common land, and their attachment to it, the kind of sentiment so movingly expressed by John of Gaunt in Richard II, or by the Welsh when they sing Land of My Fathers. South Africans, too, are deeply moved by this sentiment and, as with other peoples, it seems that this sentiment, at least in part,

attaches to those who share it. This would appear to be a binding force at least as far as Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans are concerned ¹. Economic interdependence and joint endeavour in building up economic prosperity similarly act as a unifying factor. Its importance has been tacitly admitted in Nationalist attempts to restrict the degree of non-White participation in the economic sector, on the ground that full economic integration must lead eventually to political and then social integration. Religion and language play ambivalent roles. As we shall see, in part they tend to keep the two groups apart, but limits are set to the gulf by the fact that though they may be divided by denomination their denominations are still expressions of a common Protestant Christian faith; and with the increase in bilingualism there is a decreasing sense of alienation from those of a different tongue. Then, too, the two groups share a common Hebraic-Christian Greco-Roman tradition and civilization built on that tradition and a common set of values arising out of it. There are important differences remaining, but they remain differences within a broader unity. A further important unifying factor is the experience of living together under

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1. Hostility or prejudice may, of course, abort the growth of this sentiment for fellow-South Africans. But even as between White and Black, it is true that most White South Africans feel at least a kind of paternalistic affection for their African compatriots and tend to rate them much more highly than Africans from other territories. This is particularly true of Natalians in their regard for the Zulus.

a common government and common legal system. For at least fifty years the government of South Africa has been the focus of their political efforts, and this common focus restrains¹ the centrifugal effect of political conflict .

But the most important unifying factor by far is no doubt the reaction to the feeling that together they face common enemies and dangers. It was this force operating internally among Afrikaners that so markedly accelerated the emergence of a unified Afrikanerdom. It was the absence of this factor that has been largely responsible for a similar consolidation of the English-speaking section who for so long have cherished an illusion of their own invulnerability. And it is this factor, too, that brings the various non-White peoples of the Republic together in united opposition to the Whites. For White South Africans it has been and still is of immense importance. In the African continent as a whole, White people comprise approximately 14% of the total population, and approximately 90% of these are the Whites of

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1. Two incidental observations come to mind in this regard. The one is that secessionist movements in Natal have not only failed, but they have successively received less and less support. The other unifying or nationalising factors have no doubt played their part, but it would seem, too, that most Natalians have come to accept the view that their political battles must be fought in Cape Town and Pretoria. The second refers to the possible success of the Bantustan concept, and one is led to wonder how far the Bantu have travelled along the Natal road and whether they still regard Cape Town and Pretoria as comprising the real political arena. If this is so, will their feelings towards the Bantustans ever be more than essentially provincial?

South Africa, clustered in the southern tip of the continent. Moreover the more than 250 million Africans to the North are almost all in a state of passive belligerency with South Africa. And internally the non-Whites of their own country threaten to seize control of power as soon as they are able to do so. Finally, the other nations of the world, including the Western nations, place themselves mainly on the side of the threatening Black states. The South African government itself promotes the unifying affect of all this by encouraging, as the English newspapers in the country put it, a "war mentality" in South Africa. And this mentality in its turn, of course, plays powerfully into the hands of the Government, emphasising as it does the importance of "loyalty" and extending the boundaries of the notion of "treason".

Divisive factors, however, still remain operative, and the Afrikaans- and English-speaking peoples are still far from forming one people. Perhaps the most important of these factors is the Afrikaner's interpretation of his historical experience. Afrikaners are a people with a lively and sentimental regard for their own history. The great events of their past are frequently recalled with great emotion. The most dramatic, but far from unique, expression of this was the reenactment of the Great Trek in 1938 which provided a massive injection of enthusiasm for Afrikaner nationalism. Each year on the Day of the Covenant (the former Dingaan's Day)

the Afrikaners gather to rededicate themselves to the causes for which their forefathers fought and died and eventually conquered. Their heroes are venerated, their victories recurrently celebrated. And among their past battles are those against the English. A popular summary of these would run something like this. It was the English who so often sought to rob them of their spoils - of diamonds in the Free State, gold in the Transvaal, of the fruits of their victory over the Basuto Moshesh. It was the English, too, who tried to take from them their most cherished possession, their independence, and eventually did. It was the English who killed their women and children in the concentration camps of the Boer War and who burnt their farms. It was the English who, after Union, did their utmost to prevent the Afrikaner receiving his due and who opposed every advance towards full South African statehood. And it is still the English who, in this time of peril, harass and criticise their government and blacken South Africa's name overseas. And this is only a highly abbreviated catechism.

As for the English-speaking South Africans, they have been sublimely unconscious of having done any wrong. At the time of the Boer War they defended their own land and their rights; and since then they have simply minded their own business. Of course, as British subjects, they were proud of the Empire, were loyal to the King (or Queen as the case

may be), and refused to acknowledgd any right of the Dutch (or Afrikaner) to weaken the connection. After all, South Africa was part of the British Commonwealth and Empire, and the Dutch had been beaten in the Boer War. Were these people, who thought in these terms, really South Africans? The Afrikaner nationalists denied it, and they continued to deny it even after a new generation of English-speaking South Africans arose who thought more in terms of loyalty to the British traditions of parliamentary democracy and the rule of law than of personal loyalty to the reigning monarch. Unfortunately, however, there have even in recent years been those whose adherence to British traditions has not been strong enough to preserve them in the face of their race prejudice, and in withholding these benefits from the "lesser breeds without the law" have come to value them the less themselves.

The English-speaking South Africans of today undeniably identify themselves as South Africans and their patriotism centres on South Africa, not on Great Britain. Yet, in a sense, they remain, or are kept, in the outer circle of South Africans. The great patriotic occasions in South Africa are almost entirely devoted to occasions in Afrikaner history; the great heroes of South African history are Afrikaans heroes. In all this the English-speaking South African has a sense of sharing, if at all, only vicariously. It is true that

there is a public holiday, Settlers' Day, which principally celebrates the contribution of English settlers to South Africa; but nobody pays much attention to it. To most people it has little meaning other than being a public holiday. And the English school-boy may regard Dick King¹ as a hero, but his chief heroes will still rather be Robin Hood, Richard the Lion-Heart, Sir Francis Drake, Nelson and others belonging to his British heritage. He will respect and admire Piet Retief, Dirkie Uys and others, but they are still not really his heroes. And, of course, if there are parts of the Afrikaans historical tradition that the English-speaking South Africans cannot share, the reverse also holds true. For the person of British descent his national history remains continuous from the beginning of history in the British Isles; but the Afrikaner regards himself as a member of a distinct nation itself an amalgam of Netherlander, French and German although with a predominant Netherlands influence. Despite the fact that he has ancestral roots in Europe, nevertheless he regards his national history as beginning in 1652 with the landing of Van Riebeeck at the Cape.

2. Religion

Both Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans are, as we have seen, predominantly Protestant in their religious

1. Dick King rode 600 miles on horseback from Durban to Grahamstown to get relief for the British garrison beleaguered by the Dutch.

faith. This does provide a common frame of reference to both groups in religious matters; yet it does not form so close a bond as might be expected. There are, in particular, three factors that tend to keep a distance between the groups. Probably the most important single factor is that of language. Quite simply, most Afrikaners prefer to worship in a Dutch Reformed Church because the services are conducted in their own language, and those who attend the services of another Church are likely for the most part to be Anglicized Afrikaners¹. Similarly English-speaking South Africans rarely attend services other than those conducted in English. The general pattern of religious observance, then, is that the two language groups worship separately in their own churches. Occasionally, however, special bilingual services are held, but these are mostly specially organized inter-denominational services.

Secondly, there is a clear difference in attitude between the Dutch Reformed Churches on the one hand and most other Christian Churches on the other. This difference stems from two principal causes. One is the Dutch Reformed Churches' suspicions of the Roman Catholic Church which are deep-seated and pervasive. They still talk with conviction of die Roomse Gevaar (the "Roman danger") in a manner similar to that of fundamentalist Churches of the American South; and there

1. Some Churches other than the D.R.C. have Afrikaans-speaking branches, e.g. the Afrikaans Baptist Church.

have been recurrent requests for the banning of Roman Catholic immigrants or at least a limitation on their numbers. With these attitudes, it is hardly suprising that the Dutch Reformed Churches on the whole disapprove of all movements or occasions¹ that involve the Roman presence. The second cause stems from the differences in approach to racial policy, which will be treated below. As a result, however, the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa have withdrawn from the World Council of Churches. There is similar resistance to the Christian Institute of South Africa, formed in 1963 in order, in the words of a former chairman, to seek "a renewed understanding of God's will for the members of Christ's Church", but more specifically, to bring together Christians of all races and denominations in South Africa. The editor of its journal, Pro Veritate, is Dr. C.F. Beyers Naude, formerly Moderator of the Southern Transvaal Synod of the N.G.K. Other individual Dutch Reformed Church Ministers have been, and are, members of it. But they are subject to very heavy criticism. The Kerkbode (organ of the N.G.K.) has objected to it principally

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1. There are, inevitably, exceptions, e.g. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964 (S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1965) records at p. 17, that on May 17, 1964, an interdenominational service was held "as a demonstration of Christian unity". It was conducted in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, and Anglican, Dutch Reformed, Methodist, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Churches participated.

on the ground that there is a Roman Catholic on the Institute's Board of Control¹, and Professor Pont of Pretoria University has described the Institute and Pro Veritate as being "nothing but liberalist stepping-stones from which propaganda which suits Communism admirably are carried into our Churches."² And the Southern Transvaal Synodal Commission urged church members not to join the Institute³. In 1966 Die Transvaler took the extreme action of publishing a list of Dutch Reformed Ministers alleged to be members of the Institute, stating that the allegations would be regarded as true if those named did not enter denials.

The third point of fundamental difference is in the sphere of race relations. All the major churches other than the Dutch Reformed Churches have officially condemned the government's apartheid policies. The Dutch Reformed Churches, for their part, however, not only fail to condemn, they appoint commissions and issue reports in order to establish scriptural justification for the apartheid policy. The other Churches tend to be identified as English Churches and their criticisms, therefore, as one of a kind with those of the English press. On the other hand, English-speaking South Africans tend to accuse the Dutch Reformed Churches of giving their first loyalty to their Afrikaans-government. Accusation and counter-accusation inevitably militate against closer Christian unity.

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1. A Survey of Race Relations, 1964, op. cit., p. 12.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid., p. 13.

3. Language

The key to the understanding of this fact lies in the role played by language. The language of English-speaking South Africans despite minor variations of idiom and pronunciation, is English - the language of Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton, of the Authorised Version, Addison and Steele, Burke and Churchill. The great figures of English literature and oratory speak to English-speaking South Africans in their own language. The history, literature, and philosophy that they read are still predominantly the history, literature and philosophy of England. There is, therefore, a cultural continuity.

This is not true, however, of the Afrikaner. The Afrikaans culture is an off-shoot of Dutch culture, but the great works of Dutch writers are written in a language which now only University students (and only some of them) can understand. Senior high school students may be required to read some Dutch works in their literature course, but it is a work of labour that is relinquished as soon as possible, as most people soon give up the task of trying to read Latin. The emergence of Afrikaans as a distinct language has, therefore, created a gulf between the Afrikaner and his Dutch cultural heritage. This is indeed a matter of grave concern to such Afrikaners as Dr. Scholtz, the editor of Die Transvaler who has written in urgent terms of the Afrikaner's danger of

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cultural isolationism . But if this danger is to be overcome it will require a considerable and deliberate effort, and one wonders whether such an effort is likely to be made while Afrikaners maintain their present exclusivist nationalism.

a. The growth of Afrikaans and the influence of English on the language

The most patent and visible sign of the Afrikaans people is the Afrikaans language. From its early humble origins to its present status as a flexible, highly expressive language, the medium, particularly, of a surprisingly large number of first class poets, its development has been threatened by so many critics and hostile forces both from within and from without, that it is understandable that Afrikaners frequently refer to the "wonder" or "miracle" of Afrikaans. One of the early giants of Afrikaans literature and a champion of its cause, C.J. Langenhoven, exclaimed, Regtig ! die saak is van die Here, en dis wonderlik in ons oë, te wonderlik om ons eie ervaring te glo. (Verily! The matter is of the Lord, and it is wonderful in our eyes, too wonderful to believe our own experience .) The devout Afrikaner, indeed, regards both the Afrikaans language and the birth of the Afrikaans "nation"

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1. G.D. Scholtz, Het die Afrikaanse Volk 'n Toekoms? (Have the Afrikaans people a future?) (Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg, 1954).
 2. Quoted by P.J. Nienaber, Die Wonder van Afrikaans (Nasionale Handelsdrukkery, Elsie'srivier, Cape, 1959), p. 3.

as twin proofs of God's destiny for them, and the belief in each reinforces the belief in the other.

Afrikaans is, then, much more to the Afrikaner than a mere means of communication. A Nationalist M.P. in a speech in the House of Assembly expressed himself in these terms,

Afrikaans is not just the spoken language or the written language of the Afrikaans nation. Language as such is not only a medium. The language is the people...It is the whole conscious life of the individual and of a nation. That conscious life is the continual creation of images and ideas, and one can only create ideas from personal experience... Only from the experience of the Afrikaner who speaks this language can we have the creation of his images, his ideas, his deepest thoughts...¹.

The Afrikaner believes that not only is he fully himself only when he expresses himself in the Afrikaans language, but also only as a member of the Afrikaans nation. And these ideas are really one, "because the fact that there is an Afrikaans language proves to us that there is an Afrikaans nation² ." Or as another writer put it: "The language comes out of the people (volk) and if the language is a unity, then this is but the outward sign that the people already are a unity³ ."

Whatever its mystical significance may be, Afrikaans still remains a language, and it remains for us to discuss,

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1. Mr. Mostert, House of Assembly Debates, 22 March, 1955, vol. 88, cols. 3068-69.
 2. Mr. Potgieter, House of Assembly Debates, ibid., col. 3087.
 3. Dr. S.P.E. Boshoff, Ons en ons Taal (S.A.B.C., Johannesburg, 1958), p. 14.

as Afrikaans scholars themselves have discussed, the origin and nature of this language, and the present influence of English upon it. Without prejudging the extent of the influence of English on Afrikaans, we should state at the outset that it was not an influence in the emergence of Afrikaans. Some people are misled by the presence of some English or English-sounding words¹ in Afrikaans and by the similarity of grammatical simplicity into thinking that Afrikaans is the bastard child of Netherlands and English. This is demonstrably not true. The fact is that the distinctive form of the Afrikaans language developed between approximately 1685² and approximately 1725³. These dates may be somewhat uncertain, but it is certain that Afrikaans was already a distinct and recognizable language when the English arrived at the turn of the nineteenth century. The contributions of English to Afrikaans will be discussed later, but these were and are mainly confined to words, not to form.

The determination of the influences that produced Afrikaans is still a matter of speculation, and it seems unlikely that it will ever be finally settled. There are, however, four main theories, although we could add to this number if we included combinations of two or more of them. These are:

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1. Many words that seem to have been borrowed from the English language have in fact come from the Netherlands language, in which the borrowing first took place.
 2. D.F. Malherbe, "Oor die Ontstaan van Afrikaans" in P.J. Nienaber (ed.), Taalkundige Opstelle (A.A. Balkema, Cape Town, 1965), p. 45.
 3. P.J. Nienaber, Ons en Ons Taal, op. cit., p. 3.

(i) that the influence of Malay-Portuguese was predominant, (ii) that the major influence was the mere fact of geographical isolation, (iii) that Afrikaans grew essentially out of the meeting of many Netherlands dialects at the Cape, and (iv) that the major influence was the simplified Netherlands spoken by Hottentots. These do not rule out the existence of other subsidiary influences - e.g. the possibility that the Afrikaans double negative (e.g. Ek het nie geglo nie = I did not believe it) was brought into the language by the French of the Huguenots.

The first theory, that, the Malay-Portuguese or broken Portuguese spoken by the imported Malay slaves was the major influence at work, has been developed mainly by the Netherlands philologist Professor D.C. Hesseling in a succession of scholarly works produced over a considerable period¹. According to Hesseling, Malay-Portuguese was the language not only of the slaves, and the principal means of communication with them, but also of the harbour, the heart of the Dutch colony. It was, he writes, "the harbour language of the Old Cape and much more still the language of the slaves... the only foreign language that the men in the colony not only heard, but soon and frequently spoke. The use of Hottentot, French or German can not be compared with it²."

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1. Hesseling first expounded his theory in 1897, and a second enlarged edition of his major exposition appeared in 1923. Malherbe, op. cit., pp. 40-41.
 2. Quoted by Malherbe, op. cit., p. 41.

For our purposes, the second and third theories may be taken together as representing variant forms of a broader thesis, that no external influences need be sought in the evolution of the language. This argument is developed for example by Dr. Kruisinga and Dr. Boshoff, who argue that alien influences were at best indirect. According to this theory, Afrikaans remains a direct descendent of Netherlands and is the product of the impact on one another of a variety of dialects which, in the isolated situation of the Cape, gradually settled down, as it were, to the lowest common denominator of these dialects. Hesseling himself argued against this theory, and Malherbe supports him in this, on the ground that it does not account for the radical deflection of the Afrikaans language compared with Netherlands, and he cites the contrary example of Acadian French which in spite of centuries of isolation and in spite of the various dialects spoken by the settlers still retains the French inflections.

The fourth theory emphasises the pervasiveness of the Hottentot presence in the Cape - as artisans, domestic servants, general "helps", farm-hands, etc. The "Dutch" spoken by these Hottentots was a debased, simplified form, and it was used by the Dutch in talking with them, and probably by the children. Malherbe suggests that the "broken language" complained of by Governor Van Rhee de might "with good ground be interpreted as the transformation in the mouth of children

as a result of contact with Netherlands-speaking Hottentots¹."

Without the tools required for further analysis and evaluation, we may content ourselves, and probably not be far from the truth in so doing, with saying that probably all these factors played some part in the growth of Afrikaans. Two important points must, however, be stressed. The one is that Netherlands formed a continuing base to the evolving language (here the daily practice of reading the Bible, naturally in Netherlands, was probably critically important).² Malherbe offers amusing examples of Griqua-Afrikaans, which unfortunately are untranslatable, which demonstrate the formlessness of language development when it loses contact with its base. The second point is that right into the twentieth century Afrikaans was despised by educated Afrikaners as "Kitchen-Dutch". It was only when its flexibility, beauty and utility were demonstrated by such poets as Langenhoven, Totius, C. Louis Leipoldt and others, that it gradually gained acceptance. And, as we have seen, political influences, particularly rising Afrikaans nationalism, accelerated and in part, produced, this movement.

What sort of language is this Afrikaans? Perhaps it may best be described as a form of Netherlands that has lost its

1. Op. cit., p. 47.

2. Ibid., p. 52

inflections, although other elements have been added to it. Its chief characteristic, however, is its absence of inflection, as the following examples illustrate:

ek is	---	I am
jy is	---	you are
hy is	---	he is
ons is	---	we are
julle is	---	you are
hulle is	---	they are

Similarly, the Afrikaner says ek (jy, hy, ons, julle, hulle) loop, where in Netherlands the verb loop (walk) would be loop, loopt and lopen. In Netherlands the definite article is inflected (der, die, das) where in Afrikaans the article remains unchanged: die man, die vrou, die kind (child). The distinction in Netherlands between strong and weak verbs is all but lost in Afrikaans except in a few past participles. The imperfect tense has disappeared.

Certain inflections do, however, remain. While one says: Ons ry op ons perde na ons huis (We ride on our horses to our house), one would also say Ek (hy) ry op my (sy) perd na my (sy) Huis. (I (he) ride(s) on my (his) horse to my (his) house). And some adjectives are inflected when preceding a noun - e.g. Dit is verbassend (it is surprising) - Dit is n verbassende feit (it is a surprising fact). In some plurals the final consonant that would remain in Netherlands is elided -

e.g. Dit is n goeie boek (it is a good book) - cf. Die boek is goed (the book is good). Much more could be said on the subject of elisions (which are found also in plurals), but to stick to our adjective: not all adjectives are inflected - e.g. wit (white) remains unchanged.

Afrikaans word order bothers the foreign student as much as when and when not to inflect words. In a simple sentence in the present tense the word order is as in English (e.g. the examples of sentences given above), but in either the future or the past tense, the auxiliary and the root word are separated and the latter goes to the end of the sentence; Ek sal huis-toe gaan (I shall go home) or Ek het huis-toe gegaan (I went home). And in subordinate clauses, the verb (whatever the tense) usually (but not always) goes to the end of the clause: Hy het weggegaan omdat hy sy werk voltooi het. (He went away because he had finished his work). But when the subordinate clause comes before the main clause, the word order is inverted and the main clause begins with its verb or auxiliary; Terwyl ek so besig is, kan ek nie speel nie (While I am so busy, I cannot play - note the double negative). Only the foolish or the foolhardy would say that Afrikaans lacks syntactical form, but it is a relatively simple, direct form, and at least the spelling is invariably phonetic once the basis rules of pronunciation are understood.

Although Afrikaans in its essentials had already developed before English took root on South African soil, the two languages have now co-existed for over 150 years. Under these circumstances it would be surprising if English had not left its mark. The extent (and limits) of this influence are thus described by Malherbe:

Since about 1870 until recently, we in South Africa have lived to see the humiliating spectacle of language-mixing and -bastardisation under the influence of English. And it was only possible because the affected section of the people used the alien language in the daily round. And yet, although the ugly marks have remained in our language, the influence was in the main confined to the superficial: the sequence of words, e.g. has not altered¹.

Few linguistic sins more agitate the Afrikaans scholar than Anglicisms - except the cardinal sin of language mixture (exemplified by the stock joke of all Afrikaans teacher: moenie jou languages op-mix nie. In Afrikaans this would be Moenie jou tale vermeng nie (in English, Don't mix up your languages). Yet the ultimate influence of each language on the other cannot be denied. The process is well described by Dr. S.J. die Toit:

In a completely bilingual country with the passage of time a certain median-seeking tendency makes itself ever more strongly felt until a principle of more or less fifty per cent is reached. This would develop a completely mixed (or composite) language. Where the one language, however, has a decided preponderance over the other, that is on account of a

1. Op. cit., p. 43.

wider spread or on account of greater cultural value, it will always expand at the expense of the other, and a bilingual people will end up again with unilingualism, although the possibility naturally cannot be excluded that the defeated language will leave behind stronger or weaker spoors in the language that overcomes it¹.

Bearing in mind the metaphysical significance attached to Afrikaans one can understand, in the light of this passage, the resistance to Anglicisms. For until recently, at any rate, it is English that has been without doubt the dominant language, both in terms of "cultural value" and in terms of the much greater use made of it in the conduct of affairs. Every Anglicism detected thus seemed to confirm the prognostications of many around the time of Union that Afrikaans would soon die out altogether. These fears are no longer acute, but another scholar, Dr. Boshoff, expanding on the point raised by du Toit, speculates on the possibility of a new language arising in South Africa from Afrikaans and English and replacing both. Pointing out the many similarities in their development, he asks: "Would they not be able, as a result of reciprocal influence and eventual possible fusion, to go much further [in their development]?"² Up to the present, the influence of English on Afrikaans has been stronger than that of Afrikaans on English, but the increasing bilingualism of English-speaking South Africans may mean that the latter process is just beginning.

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1. S.J. du Toit, "Anglicisms in Afrikaans", in P.J. Nienaber, op. cit., p. 123.
 2. Op. cit., p. 13.

b. "South African" English

For the first few decades of Union English was the dominant language, notwithstanding the formal equality prescribed in the constitution. It was the language of government to a large extent, the language of commerce and the language of culture - books, theatre, cinema, etc. Moreover, at first it was Netherlands, not even Afrikaans, that was taught in the schools. In consequence, Afrikaner accusations that Afrikaans was regarded as an "inferior" language were very largely justified. It tended to be dismissed as an insignificant dialect. In consequence, not only was there no particular need felt by the English-speaking section to learn it and to speak it; but also, on the principle enunciated by Dr. du Toit quoted above, the degree of influence or "contamination" to which English was likely to be subjected was correspondingly reduced.

In point of fact, South African English even now remains remarkably pure. One is indeed inclined to suggest that the multilingual environment has been a factor in preserving the purity of the language. Admittedly there are contrary influences, but the one in point here arises from hearing the language spoken by others in a way that disregards the rules both of grammar and pronunciation. This may well tend to produce a reaction that lays emphasis on both these elements of language. Other factors reinforce the tendency: only

in the last few years has the practice of relaying every evening the B.B.C. news been discontinued; many English teachers have been trained in England; and the English-speaking section has, for political reasons, been concerned to retain as close a link as possible with Britain. Both sentiment and the process of habituation have helped to retain as the South African ideal the Queen's - or more accurately, B.B.C. - English. Indeed, as in England, pronunciation is regarded as a criterion of class, and a person is damned to lower social status if he is careless over his vowels and consonants. Slight and subtle but still perceptible differences still remain between "cultured" South African English and "cultured" English English, if it may be so called, but it is the slightness of the differences rather than the fact that differences exist that is interesting.

It is in consequence of this that the major effect of the juxtaposition of English and Afrikaans on the former language is most apparent in those levels of English society that fall outside the wealthier, and professional circles. But even here variation of effect is found, for the accent varies from region to region. Perhaps the English of the Eastern Cape or Border area is the most marked in accent, with vowels noticeably flat and clipped, the "r's" prominent as in Afrikaans, and, altogether with a much more guttural sound to the spoken language.

1. This is the region to which the 1820 Settlers came, and is thus one of the oldest areas of English settlement.

However, this linguistic juxtaposition has had little effect on the syntax of the English language, that is, as normally spoken¹. Only two examples of common South Africanisms come to mind, and even these will not be found among those with higher education. The first example is: "Are you coming with?" In English this is a grammatical monstrosity, but the equivalent in Afrikaans (Kom jy saam?) is perfectly correct. Then, especially among children it is common to hear: "He threw me with a stone." This too follows the Afrikaans idiomatic structure: Hy het my met 'n klip gegooi.

On the whole, however, the most direct and obvious influence of the languages on each other is in the area of vocabulary. Afrikaans has had to borrow heavily from English for its technical terms, but also has a large number of colloquialisms - eg. "O.K." Sometimes these are partially assimilated - eg. "bloody" (as a swear-word) in Afrikaans becomes "bleddie" (a meaningless bi-syllable) but used in the same kind of context - eg. Nee, ek gaan nie swem nie. Die water is te bleddie koud! - "No, I'm not going to swim. The water's too bloody cold!").

In English we find some Afrikaans (or former Dutch) words firmly embedded in the language: eg. mealie (from the

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1. In uneducated, working classes the grammar of both English and Afrikaans is probably imperfect, but how far the one affects the other it is hard to say.

Afrikaans mielie, meaning corn), stoep (verandah), span (team of oxen), and hence inspan and outspan; donga (a ditch); dorp (a town or village; often in English used pejoratively - eg. "Stanger is a proper dorp; you'd never catch me living there!"); platteland (the country or rural area); pondokkie (a tin shack); skelm (a rascal); Voetsak! (be off) trek (journey); braaivlies (barbecue); Ja (yes). Most of these words are used in preference to any English equivalent. And the list could be considerably extended if one included the names of popular Afrikaans foods - eg. Boerewors (something like a Lunenburg sausage, if that is known elsewhere in Canada); biltong (strips of dried, uncooked meat, very popular in South Africa); melkttert (a kind of custard pie), and many more.

4. Social Differences

Differences in manners and customs form, along with colour and language, one of the most obvious signs of cultural distinctness. They help to maintain the distance between group and group, give rise to stereotyped projections of the "other" group(s), and help to reinforce the internal cohesion of each group. One of the most important factors, for example, in anti-Indian prejudice and in the building of elaborate defences against Indian "penetration" into white residential areas is found in these social differences:

Indian homes are not traditionally single-family dwellings; they are, therefore, generally full to over-flowing, especially, too, since Indians are prolific progenitors; they have a completely different attitude to "noise", so that their voices are generally raised rather than muted and their radios and gramophones usually have their volume controls turned full¹ on; their music is completely different from European music and not immediately attractive (as Bantu singing, on the other hand, is) to the European ear; their attitude to hygiene, especially with regard to children, again offends European tastes.

Differences between Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans are not, of course, as extreme as this, and on the whole there is no problem over residential areas: property is generally bought according to one's pocket rather than according to the language of one's prospective neighbours. Where friction does arise it is more likely to be in a conservative semi-rural area where the English-speaking person's habits of dress (especially if it is a woman who is involved) may give offence; and there have been cases, for example, where the local dominee (D.R.C. Minister) has been instrumental in securing the transference away of some teacher offending in this fashion.

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1. An Indian friend of the author's relates how another Indian friend who lives in a racially mixed area, remarked to him how pleasant and relaxing it was to visit in an Indian area where one need not be constantly worrying to turn the radio down or stop the children from shouting.

This is not to suggest that Afrikaners generally are as prudish as their rigid Calvinism might suggest. Ministers and women's organizations may, and do, protest against bikinis, short shorts and beauty competitions, but their protests do not appear to bear very substantial fruit. Success is more likely when public regulations can be secured and enforced - e.g., at municipal swimming-baths. In the Orange Free State, for example, all sport, even fishing, is forbidden on Sundays. Nevertheless, it is true to say that in the Afrikaans community there is a much stronger pressure in favour of outward decorum than is the case with the laxer English-speaking community.

If English laxity in dress, manners and morals gives offence to the Afrikaner, the latter sometimes engenders distaste among the English-speaking section on account of a somewhat juvenile boisterousness, a certain roughness of manner and a rather earthy and un-subtle sense of humour. These, at any rate, are allegations that are made; and their reverse side is found in allegations of reserve and snobbery among the English.

English-speaking South Africans are raised much more in the English tradition than is noticeable in Canada. Not only is the educational system, for example, much more closely based on the English model, but the traditions of the English

public school have also been transplanted. There are (to use the terminology both of South Africa and Canada) a large number of private boarding schools of the English type. Most of them are Church schools (mainly Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist.) They all charge relatively high fees and consequently tend to be patronised by the more wealthy (i.e. "upper" class), and inevitably, are accused of being hotbeds of snobbery. Many of them, however, are fine schools, and educationally South Africa would undoubtedly be the poorer without them. The English public school influence, however, is not limited to the private schools. All schools place emphasis on sport (usually compulsory), award colours, insist on the wearing of uniforms and direct at least part of their efforts to turning out ladies and gentlemen.

Among the Afrikaans community on the other hand, the private school is practically non-existent. And while they follow the English pattern with regard to sport and uniforms, it might perhaps be suggested that they are more interested in producing good Afrikaners than ladies and gentlemen (not that the two need be regarded as mutually exclusive).

If English-speaking people are criticised by Afrikaners for being reserved, snobbish and hypocritical, this may at least in part be explicable in terms of the Afrikaner's lack

of inhibition over the expression of sentiment. The English-speaking person tends to think of sentiment as something slightly shameful and generally not to be expressed. Not¹ so the Afrikaner, to whom there is much virtue in sentiment, - sentiment over the fatherland, sentiment over the folk-heroes, sentiment over the victories, and also the defeats, of the past, sentiment over the Party, and over its current political leader. This is not said in a derogatory sense. The Afrikaners are on the whole a very warm-hearted people, with a ready and real human sympathy; but the virtue can be perverted into a vice.

The Afrikaans community, too, is noticeably more patriarchal than the English. In part this stems from the farming background but it owes much more to the degree to which the community is steeped in the traditions of the Old Testament. It is still much more fully implicit in Afrikaner custom than in English that the place of the woman is to be a wife to her man, to bear him children and to attend to the physical well-being of the family. And in social gatherings among Afrikaners, e.g., afternoon tea (actually coffee), the women-folk will remain in the sitkamer (lounge) and discuss their children, their recipes, and their servants, while the menfolk

1. Anyone who attends an Afrikaans funeral for the first time will be immediately struck by this. Certainly the only Afrikaans funeral attended by the author left a very vivid impression on his mind.

withdraw to the stoep, there to talk over their affairs, whether of politics or of their farms. Discipline, too, tends to be harsher, as befits its patriarchal character, both with respect to children and to servants, the Biblical injunction not to spare the rod being taken perhaps rather too literally.

These differences, while important, should not be exaggerated. Many successful marriages between people of different language groups have, for example, taken place. But with separate schools, separate universities, and, increasingly, separate places of employment added to these social differences, the rate of inter-group marriages might well slow down. By and large it is true to say that socially the English and the Afrikaans-speaking person lives each in his own linguistic milieu¹.

There is one factor which has also tended to keep the groups apart, although its importance is now diminishing, and that is the social distance imposed by class. This is not a universal factor, i.e. there are both English- and Afrikaans-speaking people to be found in all classes, but

1. The exceptions should, however, be noted. These occur particularly at the community boundaries, i.e. in such farming areas as East Griqualand where English and Afrikaans farmers live side by side, mix happily and talk to each other fluently in either language or both, and also in intellectual and "cultural" circles.

the median class level is significantly lower among Afrikaners than among English-speaking people. This may be illustrated by referring to the three main class indicators in white South African society: (a) education, (b) occupation, and (c) income.

(a) Education: In the Statistical Profile prepared by Mr. John Gordon¹, we find that considerably more Afrikaners in 1960 (relative to the Afrikaans population) have only elementary education, and considerably fewer have matriculation or higher education, than is the case of English-speaking South Africans. The following table, adapted from Mr. Gordon's, clearly demonstrates this difference.

<u>English</u>		
	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of total English</u>
Below Std. 6	164,270	14.8
Std. 10 & higher	249,330	22.4
<u>Afrikaans</u>		
	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of total Afrikaans</u>
Below Std. 6	405,831	23.0
Std. 10 & higher	205,124	11.6

(b) Occupation: In the occupational tables prepared by Mr. Gordon, we again find striking differences². Thus,

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1. See Bilingualism in South Africa, Royal Commission Report VIII - B, 11, p. 219.
 2. Ibid., pp 228-230.

in the professional and technical category, 59.8% are listed as English-speaking as against 38.3% who are Afrikaners. At the administrative and managerial level, 62.0% are English-speaking and only 28.2% Afrikaners. But in transport, 77.3% are Afrikaners and 20.2% English-speaking; and of those listed as labourers, 87.0% are Afrikaners and only 11.5% are English-speaking. In the professions listed, Afrikaners outnumber the English-speaking only among veterinarians, nurses and professors (one should almost certainly add teachers as well). In 1946, of the 16,109 Whites employed by the South African Railways as Labourers, 14,837 were Afrikaners¹.

(c) Income: The same striking differences between the two language groups is found in income levels. Table XIV² prepared by Mr. Gordon shows that of those earning less than R2,000 (approx. \$5,760) only 31.2% were English-speaking as against 63.7% who were Afrikaners; and in the upper income bracket of R4,000 and over, only 36.5% were Afrikaners as against 58.2% who were English-speaking.

In short, in education, occupation and income Afrikaners lag appreciably behind their English-speaking compatriots.

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1. Stanley Trapido, "Political Institutions and Afrikaner Social Structures in the Republic of South Africa" in American Political Science Review, March 1963, vol. LVII, No. 1, p. 79.
 2. Op. cit., p. 225.

In the 'thirties, in the days of the poor Whites, this was even more noticeable. If the gap is closing, it still remains wide and must, therefore, be accounted as a significant factor in Afrikaans-English relations.

5. Cultural Activity

Culture, in the popular sense of the term, has a two-fold affect on inter-community relations. In part, it brings the two communities together, particularly in the concert-hall, in the art-gallery and in the theatre, but in part, too, it keeps them apart, particularly in the field of literature.

Let us consider first those elements of culture that bring the two groups together. Here once again, perhaps, we should issue the warning that the Afrikaans community is not a single, monolithic, homogeneous community. There are strong dominant norms, but these still do not comprise a single mould. And if there are many rigid, exclusivist Afrikaner nationalists there are also a relatively large number who are urbane, "civilized" and cosmopolitan in outlook (though the chances are that they too will vote Nationalist). Indeed among the most knowledgeable and active in the arts in South Africa, a considerable number are Afrikaners. In music, probably the most promising of the younger composers are Afrikaans, as too are many performers, both instrumentalists and singers. In painting and sculpture many of the

"greats" in South Africa are Afrikaans, although English, Jew and African¹ have also played their part. This is a sphere, indeed, where distinctions of language, colour and religion very largely break down, and thus is one of the hopeful areas in the South African scene.

The theatre provides rather less opportunity for inter-group meeting, because here, of course, language is still important. Afrikaner intellectuals are enthusiastic supporters of drama and by no means restrict their theatre-going to Afrikaans plays. The reverse, however, is not generally true of the English theatre-going public. The National Theatre, which is government-supported, does its best to bring the plays of both languages to the public, but it cannot be said that it entirely succeeds in bringing both audiences together. Part of the trouble is that the English theatre-going public is still "name conscious", and Afrikaans playwrights, first-class though some of them are, still are not "names" to most English-speaking play-goers.

Popular culture is far more successful here, although some might wish it were not so. For popular culture is almost entirely imported. The quality of South African produced movies, both in English and in Afrikaans, is

1. Africans are today producing some of the most exciting paintings and sculptures being done in South Africa today.

steadily improving, but, inevitably they cannot compete with Bardot or Loren or Elizabeth Taylor, or with the Beatles and other objects of teen-age devotion. So while English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans flock together to the movies and to buy the latest records, what they see and hear for the most part is from overseas. This may promote the anglicisation of Afrikaners, or perhaps the americanisation of both groups, but its contribution to inter-group relations and inter-cultural understanding can, at best, be only indirect. Dr. Albert Hertzog, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, takes a sterner view of these "cultural" imports, and bases his refusal to bring television to the yearning South African public largely on the ground that it would depend too largely on these imports, thus tending to undermine the South African "way of life".

Literature, by its nature, imposes a greater strain on knowledge of the other language. Consequently there are probably very few English-speaking people who read the works of Afrikaans authors. This is regrettable for, as we have already mentioned, there are Afrikaans poets of considerable stature. In the present generation, for instance, competent judges rate Van Wyk Louw as among the world's leading poets. Relatively only a handful of English-speaking South Africans, however, have ever read any of his works. While Afrikaans prose writers are not generally regarded as matching their

poets, there are still some very fine writers; one thinks particularly of Uys Krige. Laurens van der Post, an Afrikaner by birth and upbringing, has turned to English as his medium of expression, and thus while he has gained world recognition, in a sense he is lost to Afrikaans literature.

Afrikaans readers, on the other hand, have consistently read more works written in their second language than is the case of English readers. For one thing, this enables them to read in the mainstream of European literature; many, probably most, finding it easier to read English than to read Netherlands. And until recently, those of more popular tastes - or to be frank, the pulp-readers - have found a far greater supply in English paper-backs than in Afrikaans. It is no credit to Afrikaans authors and publishers that this situation is being remedied, and that a very considerable volume of Afrikaans "pulp" is now being marketed. It would certainly be true to say, however, that English (and, of course, that includes American) Westerns, mysteries, novels of the from-bed-to-bed variety still sell very strongly among Afrikaners. That is, of course, those that escape the double net of Customs officials and the Board of Censors¹.

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1. All paperbacks require permits for their importation. Those that are shipped to South Africa without permit are impounded and not released until "approved". Books printed in the Republic may also be referred to the Board of Censors, but this is not done automatically.

At least those South Africans who have reached Standard VIII (roughly Grade 9), however, will have gained some knowledge of literature in the other language; for by that stage at least two novels and some poetry will have been studied in school. By matriculation, of course, the range of works is considerably extended and these are studied in some depth. There is, therefore, at least some understanding and appreciation of each other's literature.

6. Sport

Given the heat and fire of South African politics, as much is said about the South African's regard for sport as for his engagement in politics, when it is said that politics is South Africa's favourite sport. Somewhat less allusively, but only with a degree more of exaggeration it is said, "Sport is South Africa's religion". And it is a common religion. A school without its playing fields is unthinkable; a high school (which in South Africa combines junior high and senior high) that does not make sport compulsory for both boys and girls is a dubious experiment in progressive education; and a South African who does not await the results of an international sporting fixture in which a South African national¹ team is engaged with white-lipped anxiety is undoubtedly some kind of traitor and probably a Communist.

1. Known as a Springbok team. The springbok is South Africa's national sporting emblem. A Springbok is someone who has officially represented South Africa in some sport.

This is particularly true of rugby football (or rugger as it is called in England). Rugby originated in England, and its adoption by Afrikaners as well as English-speaking South Africans may be regarded as a sign of acculturation. But one should not, perhaps, make too much of the point; for the game is now extremely popular in France and Italy and the French rugby teams have a special flair, which other teams envy but still cannot emulate, even though it does not always bring success. What is important is that both sections of the South African white population are rugby enthusiasts, and that this game, perhaps more than any other single thing, brings both sections together in a common physical and emotional endeavour.

This is still true, although the level of intensity is not so great, in the other major sports - soccer, cricket and tennis; and, again, national teams representing South Africa in these sports - or for that matter others such as swimming or athletics - invariably include members of both language groups. Moreover this is an area where only the most obsessive fanatics will pause to count how many Afrikaans and how many English names there are in a team. Natalians, for example, may complain if there are not, in their estimation enough representatives from Natal in a team, but as long as they are there it does not matter to them whether they are called van der Merwe or Brown.

Carried further, it may be said that the contemporary heroes of South Africa that are shared by both language groups alike, are the giants of South African sport: Gary Player in golf, Cliff Drysdale and Annette van Zyl in tennis, and so on. All in all, then, sport is a most important unifying force in South Africa; for it is a kind of war in miniature, the emotions of all are engaged, the issue is regarded as really important and the cause as honourable and just.

This refers, however, to the great occasions in which most South Africans play the role of spectators. But South Africans are also great players of games as well, and sporting clubs of every variety proliferate. And in this area, as a whole, the language factor is an accident of the region and nature of the club (eg. Police force recreation clubs will have Afrikaners in the majority). This, too, serves to bring both sections into contact with each other in an area that is politically neutral and which has pleasurable associations enjoyed by both.

Some games, however, fall more in the domain of the one section than of the other. Cricket is somewhat more the sport of English-speaking players than of Afrikaners, golf decidedly so. The Afrikaners, too, have a game that is all their own, the game of jukskei, which was said to have been played by the Voortrekkers. Games of jukskei are part of the

necessary ritual of Afrikaans folk festivals. How widely it is played as a regular sport I cannot say, but it is doubtful whether it regularly engages a substantial number.

Conclusion

Relations between two adjacent groups are constantly in a state of flux, and this is demonstrably true in South Africa. Periods of cordiality may at any time be replaced by periods of sharp division, even hostility. It would seem, however, that social and cultural forces are slowly bringing the two language groups closer and closer together. At the same time there are other social and cultural forces that act as brakes on this process, whether these, at some time in the future will develop sufficient strength to promote a reverse process the future alone will tell. For the present, however, this seems highly unlikely. But it also seems unlikely that in the foreseeable future the two groups will emerge into a single identity with a single language and a unified culture.

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John Gordon
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MASS COMMUNICATIONS
IN THE
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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1. Introduction

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the mass media in South Africa were overwhelmingly English-speaking. The first newspaper, the South African Commercial Advertiser, published in 1824 was in English and even today the English-speaking dailies dominate the newspaper field. The first radio broadcasts were invariably in English and not until the formation of the South African Broadcasting Corporation in 1936 was any substantial programming in Afrikaans undertaken. However, as Afrikaans passed from being considered an "inferior" language to its present position of at least equality, the situation improved, although not to the extent which might have been expected. For example, even today the South African Press Association (SAPA), the only South African wire press service, still supplies its news in English only.

The following sections will examine the press, wire services and radio in South Africa.

2. The South African Press

The English-speaking daily press, dominates the South African newspaper scene, despite the relatively disadvantageous numerical strength of the English-speaking population.

Of the eighteen daily newspapers in 1962 only five were published in Afrikaans, all of them smaller than the six largest English language papers. Total circulation for the

dailies in 1959 was 850,234 with English 681,424 and Afrikaans 168,810.¹

In readership² the Afrikaans papers fared somewhat better, though English language papers still accounted for the great majority.³ Readership in 1962 was English language 1,744,000 and Afrikaans language 862,000.

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1. The position of the Afrikaans daily and weekly papers has been improving. Whereas in 1950 they represented only 15.3 per cent of this press, by 1965 their share had risen to 20.8 per cent. J. Sadie, The Afrikaner in the South African Economy, Royal Commission Report, Div. VIII-B, Contract 8, Report 3, pp. 77-78.
 2. To establish readership the question used was: "Have you read or looked through any of these daily newspapers during the past three months?" From National Readership Survey, (1962).
 3. For the readership survey the universe was the population of South Africa over 15 years of age.

TABLE I

Circulation and Readership of South African
Daily Newspapers¹

Paper	Circulation 1959	White Readership 1962
English language		
Rand Daily Mail	114,142	368,000
The Cape Times	66,522	165,000
East London Daily Dispatch	19,762	54,000
Eastern Province Herald	25,124	82,000
Natal Mercury	55,967	145,000
Natal Witness	11,872	42,000
The Friend	10,237	46,000
Star	170,894	394,000
Pretoria News	18,152	67,000
Cape Argus	95,353	164,000
Evening Post	21,624	61,000
Natal Daily News	65,903	135,000
Diamond Fields Advertiser	5,872	21,000
Total	681,424	1,744,000

1. Sources: circulation figures from M. Broughton, Press and Politics of South Africa (Johannesburg, 1961). pp. 304-306; readership figures from Market Research Africa Ltd., National Readership Survey (1962).

Afrikaans language

Paper	Circulation <u>1959</u>	Readership <u>1962</u>
Die Vaderland	47,571	269,000
Die Transvaler	40,811	265,000
Die Burger	42,754	180,000
Die Volksblad	27,465	110,000
Oosterlig	10,209	38,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	168,810	862,000
Total Daily	850,234	2,606,000

As can be seen from the readership figures the Afrikaans language papers begin to regain their own with the three largest directly following the two largest English language newspapers.

TABLE II

White Readership by Language Groups, 1962

(Source: Readership survey, op. cit.)

	Total	English/ Other ¹	Afrikaans/ Both
Total Population	2,068,000	838,000	1,230,000
%	100.0	100.0	100.0
Don't read a daily Paper	521,000	106,000	416,000
%	(25.2%)	12.7	33.8
Don't read an English Daily	958,000	118,000	839,000
%	(46.3%)	14.1	68.2
Don't read an Afr. Daily	1,365,000	786,000	579,000
%	(66.0%)	93.8	47.1

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1. Readership is given for two groups, those who speak English or another language as their home language and those who speak Afrikaans or both English and Afrikaans as their home languages.

TABLE IIa

White Readership by Language Groups (Dailies), 1962

(Source: Readership survey, op. cit.)

	Total	English/ Other	Afrikaans/ Both
Total Population	2,068,000	838,000	1,230,000
%	100.0	40.5	59.5
Total Readership (dailies)	2,605,000	1,257,000	1,348,000
%	100.0	48.3	51.7
Readership of English Language Dailies	1,744,000	1,200,000	544,000
%	100.0	68.8	31.2
Readership of Afrikaans Language Dailies	861,000	57,000	804,000
%	100.0	6.6	93.4

There are two major explanations of the superior position of the English language press. As shown in Table II, by and large the English speaking bloc tends to read more than the Afrikaans speaking. Only 12.7 per cent of the English/Other groups does not read a daily paper, as compared to 33.8 per cent of the Afrikaans group.

Secondly, a large number of Afrikaans speakers tends to read the English press. As shown in Table IIa the English dailies draw 68.8 per cent of their readership from the English/Other group and 31.2 per cent from the Afrikaans/Both group, while the Afrikaans dailies draw 93.4 per cent of their readership from the Afrikaans/Both

group and only 6.6 per cent from the English/Other group.

An examination of census data also helps to explain this phenomenon. Though Afrikaans speakers outnumber English speakers in urban areas as a whole, this is not the case if we simply consider the four main centres of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria and Durban (in 1951). See Table III.

TABLE III

Population of Four Metropolitan Areas, 1951
(Source: 1951 Census.)

Metropolitan Area	Total	Home Language		
		Eng.	Afrikaans	Other
Johannesburg	359,477	227,439	106,750	25,288
Cape Town	247,442	164,205	69,866	13,371
Durban	151,111	126,125	19,861	5,125
Pretoria	151,100	42,455	100,882	7,763
Total	909,130	560,224	297,359	51,547
%	100.0	61.6	32.7	5.7

It is also possible that the power to refuse a franchise to new papers has discouraged SAPA's new Afrikaans papers since 1938. In fact the number of dailies has been almost frozen since the advent of the SAPA.

(In an interview with a SAPA official Prof. McRae was told that one of the reasons for the high readership of the English-language papers was their

supply of international news from services such as the New York Times. These world services are available only in English and, like the SAPA service, would require translation by the Afrikaans papers.)

One further possibility that has been suggested is that the English language papers are bought for their advertising. Apparently the Afrikaans language papers have some difficulty in attracting advertisers.¹

Newspaper chains

The most powerful newspaper chain in South Africa is the English language Argus group which publishes five major English language dailies, two with Sunday editions, and two Sunday papers, one in English and one in Afrikaans. The following table lists the Argus papers, their locations and their 1959 circulations.

1. See J. Sadie, op. cit., p. 78

TABLE IV

Circulation of Argus Papers, 1959

(Source: Broughton, op. cit.)

Paper	City Dailies	1959 Circulation
The Star	Johannesburg	170,894
The Cape Argus	Cape Town	95,353
The Daily News	Durban	65,903
The Friend	Bloemfontein	10,237
The Diamond Fields Advertiser	Kimberley	5,872
Total Argus daily circulation		348,259
Total circulation of all English dailies		681,424

Weeklies

Sondagstem	Johannesburg	53,584
Sunday Tribune	Durban	101,885
The Star (Week end)	Johannesburg	134,472
The Cape Argus (Week end)	Cape Town	139,029
Total Argus Weekly circulation		428,970

The Argus Group also has a news collecting subsidiary in London, the Argus South African Newspapers Ltd.

Daily newspaper policies and politics

The South African Commission on the Press outlines the policies of the dailies of each language group:

In both the Afrikaans and English newspapers the selection of political and social news is one-sided and the comment partisan. In many instances the selection and comment is so one-sided that neither set of newspapers give a reasonably accurate account of the matter reported. In both the Afrikaans and English newspapers the opinions expressed show an insufficient understanding and appreciation of the points of view of the other race group - its culture, its tradition and its political aspirations and points of view.¹

And later, it says, the English language papers "are all published for the English-speaking, support the United Party and are opposed to the National Party";² while the Afrikaans language papers "are all published for the Afrikaans-speaking, support the National Party and are opposed to United Party."³

And again

All the major urban English-medium newspapers supported the Parliamentary Opposition-- the United Party. [Since the formation of the Progressive Party, some of the English newspapers have been favorable to it as well.] They also give prominence to news concerning the smaller political groups and movements, especially

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1. References to SAPA Contained in the First Portion of the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Press, prepared by the South African Press Association, p. 9.
 2. Ibid., p. 37.
 3. Ibid., p. 38.

when these criticise the Government or the National Party. As the political representative and mouthpiece of the United Party, the English Press caters primarily for the English-speaking South African and those who support the United Party.¹

The report says the English language press is the champion of English and the English way of life in South Africa and is also the champion for Britain and things British.

Much of the race and political news collected by and appearing in the English-medium newspapers is collected for its appeal to, or is presented so as to have an appeal for, the United Party and English-speaking South Africans. The appeal is both positive and negative, that is a positive appeal for the United Party and the English-speaking, and a negative appeal calculated to arouse feelings and sentiments against the National Party and at times, the Afrikaans-speaking, more especially in regard to matters about which they contend racially or politically.²

* * * *

Broadly speaking the European Afrikaans home-language group supports the National Party; for this reason the National Party is identified with the Afrikaners and, therefore, when the English Press criticizes the National Party, its criticism in actual fact amounts, to criticism of the majority of the Afrikaners. The understandable political opposition to the National Party is often transferred to the Afrikaans-speaking section of the population. An analysis of the party-political news in the English-medium Press shows it to consist of matter which, both in volume and content, is as one-sidedly favourable to the United Party, the English-speaking and those opposed to or disagreeing with the Government as it is one-

1. Ibid., p. 47.

2. Ibid.

sidedly unfavourable to the Government, the National Party and the Afrikaner. It gives very little space or prominence to the Afrikaner and his sentiments and aspirations.¹

The report estimates that journalists on the English language press were 94 per cent of English home-language "with at least 44.6 per cent and probably 71 per cent, unilingual."² The journalists on the Afrikaans language newspapers were estimated to be 98.5 per cent of Afrikaans home language, all of whom were bilingual.³

In general it can be stated that the journalists serving on the Afrikaans-medium Press almost invariably sympathise with and support the race and political views of the newspapers on which they serve.

The atmosphere in which they work, their professional contacts with their colleagues and their social contacts tend to strengthen this basic similarity of outlook on all major race and political issues of the country. Though it may be accepted that all of them were sufficiently bilingual for the purpose of their work (e.g. translating English speeches and reports, having interviews in English and reporting English speeches), at least some of them would not have the necessary intimate, social and personal contact with the English-speaking that would enable them to understand the point of view and the political and social backgrounds of the second largest section of the South African European population, viz., the English-speaking.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p.48.

3. Ibid., p.49.

It follows, therefore, that the journalist on the Afrikaans Press is not generally placed in as favourable a position as the journalist on the English Press to report accurately and objectively upon the policy and actions of the United Party. He is, however, in a very much more favourable position than his counter-part on the English Press when reporting upon the political situation in South Africa as a whole.¹

This view, at least insofar as it concerns the English-speaking press, is supported by Morris Broughton in his book Press and Politics of South Africa. Mr. Broughton, a former editor of the Cape Argus, says the English press has become the "vehicle of one section".²

He says:

the assumptions and prejudices of readers are too often left to go unchallenged. The mighty vehicle of communication[the English Press] fails to reach across the barrier between language groups and thus falls below its higher social and political obligations. The insulation of group from group hardens, grows cold and embittered... The remedy lies in projecting a fairer picture of the South African community across and above groups and social divisions.³

He puts some blame for misrepresentation of the Afrikaners at their own door.

The representatives of the English press, for example, are reduced to waiting on doormats for their turn to speak to a private secretary or

1. Ibid., pp. 48-49.

2. M. Broughton, op. cit., p.5.

3. Ibid., p. 85

to quoting their Afrikaans newspaper competitors in order to give their readers some information about what is happening politically.¹

Meanwhile, the English Press complains of the bias in the Afrikaans press. An article in the Johannesburg Sunday Times (May 23, 1965) notes that in 1947 the Transvaler, edited by Dr. Verwoerd, refused to print one word of coverage of a prolonged visit to South Africa by King George VI.

Two newspapers conspicuously break this language-politics rule. The weekly Sondagstem, published in Afrikaans by the Argus group, is not a National Party supporter while the Financial Gazette, published in English by Dr. Verwoerd's "Afrikaans Pers Beperk" is pro-National government.

The formation of an English-language Sunday paper "Image" designed to be "basically pro-government but free of political ties" has also been announced. The first issue was printed in November 1965.² The paper is published by the Board of Republican Publications in Durban with simultaneous production in Cape Town, on the Rand and in Salisbury, Rhodesia planned for later.

1. Ibid., p. 146.

2. South African Digest, Nov. 5, 1965, p. 13.

Sunday and weekly papers

The National Readership Survey of 1962 lists 22 major weekly and Sunday papers, 13 English language and 9 Afrikaans. As well there are a large number of small Afrikaans weeklies that have been lumped together. Thanks to these small weeklies with a readership of 331,000, Afrikaans Sunday and weekly papers with a readership of 3,077,000 are larger than the English Sunday and weekly readership of 2,940,000. But again the Afrikaans tend to read English papers more than vice versa. The total English paper readership is composed 68.4 per cent of readers of the English/Other group and 31.6 per cent of the Afrikaans/Both group while the Afrikaans papers draw on the English/Other group for only 9.8 per cent of their readership with 90.1 per cent from the Afrikaans/Both group.

A number of the smaller weeklies are published in both English and Afrikaans.

Law and Mass Communications

Laws governing publication are more strict and more severely enforced than in Canada. The obscenity laws, for example, are much more rigidly insisted upon and a large number of books and magazines have been banned.

Several other newspaper laws make it illegal to publish interviews with banned persons and illegal to publish anything that will cause enmity between the races.

In 1965 a bill was introduced in the House which would "ban the publication here [in South Africa] of statements made by anyone in the world who can be accused of furthering any of the aims of communism."¹

In 1962 the Newspaper Press Union, an employers' group, adopted a voluntary Board of Reference and a Code of Conduct for the South African daily, weekly and periodical press. The Board is composed of three members, the chairman of which is a retired member of the judiciary, and has the power to reprimand and cause corrections to be printed if in its opinion the code has been infringed. The main complaints of working journalists are that they are not represented on the board and they have no possibility of appealing its decisions.

3. The South African Press Association

The South African Press Association is a non-profit news-gathering and distributing service operated jointly by the major South African newspapers. Founded in 1938, the SAPA is modelled roughly on the Canadian Press.

History

The first national news gathering agency was established in South Africa in 1910 when Reuters and a group of South African newspapers united to form the Reuter South African Press Agency. Reuters had controlling interest

1. Globe and Mail, Toronto, June 9, 1965, New York Times Service.

in this service which ran for 28 years.

In 1938 the South African newspapers agreed on a non-profit service, using news reports from the individual papers for the bulk of its service. It was formed by papers in the Union and Southern Rhodesia. At about the same time an Afrikaans language service, Africopa, was also founded but it disappeared shortly after. The Association maintained its link with Reuters which supplied the SAPA with foreign news in exchange for its South African news service. Members of founding papers received shares in the SAPA. Service is paid for on a circulation basis.

The SAPA now also receives news from Associated Press and gives its service to other news agencies. It supplies a daily service of 110,000 words (50,000 domestic, 60,000 foreign) in English only.

Language Policy

Though it receives news in both English and Afrikaans from its member papers, and though these papers also publish in both languages, the SAPA prepares its service in English only. Afrikaans papers receiving the service translate or re-translate the service themselves for publication in Afrikaans. For this they receive a considerable rebate of their dues from the SAPA.

The SAPA language policies were severely criticized by the South African Commission of Enquiry into the Press. The

Commission's report criticizes the SAPA staff which, it said, was (in 1954/56) 80.6 per cent English speaking, and, moreover 30.6 per cent unilingual English. SAPA figures for 1962 showed that 25 per cent of the staff was still unilingual English.¹

The Commission also complained that 74 per cent of SAPA's South African news was obtained from English language papers and only one to 1 1/2 per cent from Afrikaans papers, the rest coming from correspondents and its own staff.² (The Afrikaans papers were found at least partially to blame for this by the Commission which accused them of holding back their reports until they had already published them themselves).

Among the disadvantages cited for this reliance on English news were:

a) Afrikaans papers had to re-translate speeches given in Afrikaans back into the original language, which involved all the problems of double translation.

b) Since English language papers were United Party supporters and Afrikaans papers National Party supporters, this tended to give an anti-government bias to SAPA news services published abroad.

The report also commented that, at the time, the SAPA had a unilingual English, non-South African director

1. References to SAPA etc., op. cit., pp. 49-50.

2. Ibid., p. 52.

with a large number of English mother tongue staff who would, because of this language problem, often be unable to appreciate the Afrikaner point of view. (The SAPA director is now a bilingual South African).

Control

The concentration of power in the share ownership was also severely criticized by the report. All major decisions, including the granting of new franchises, require the consent of three-quarters of the share holders. The large English language Argus newspaper chain owns more than one-quarter of all shares and thus has veto power over any decision of SAPA. Individual shareholders also have great power in determining the granting of new franchises within their own territory. Since it is almost impossible to operate a paper of any size without the franchise, each share-holder can protect a monopoly position.

Headquarters

The SAPA has its headquarters in Johannesburg and has six other branches in South Africa and one in Salisbury, Rhodesia. It has a full-time correspondent in London.

Correspondence with the SAPA is answered in the language of the original letter.

4. The South African Broadcasting Corporation

In 1964 the South African Broadcasting Corporation provided five main radio services, three primarily for White South Africans, one for the Bantu and one short-wave service directed outside the Republic.

The three services for Whites are the English, Afrikaans and commercial services. The first two present mainly unilingual programmes while the third is a bilingual service. The commercial services are composed of Springbok Radio, which broadcasts to the republic as a whole, and Radio Highveld and Radio Good Hope which are FM stations beamed directly at the Witwatersrand and the Western Cape respectively.

Radio Bantu broadcasts special programmes to the Bantu in five Bantu languages.

Radio Africa, the short-wave service beamed outside the Republic, broadcasts mainly selections from the two unilingual networks with special news reports.

There are no privately owned radio stations in South Africa but Radio Lourenço Marques, a private bilingual station broadcasting from Mozambique, competes for advertisers with Springbok Radio.

South Africa has as yet no television service, although this subject has been under discussion for several years.

All the South African Broadcasting Corporation services share a joint news department, music department and engineering department.

Historical

South Africa's first official radio broadcast took place on December 18, 1923, from a one-kilowatt, medium-frequency station in Johannesburg. It was an immediate public success, if not entirely a technical one.

In April 1924, the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies took over and ran broadcasting in Johannesburg for the next three years with programmes starting officially July 1, 1924 -- generally recognized as the birth date of broadcasting in South Africa. Other stations opened shortly after in Cape Town and Durban. However the services ran into technical difficulties and problems of collecting licence fees. By the end of 1926 the Johannesburg station had to close for financial reasons.

Mr. Isidor Schlesinger, a well known financier, then became interested in broadcasting and formed the African Broadcasting Company, after having secured a ten-year franchise. The company took over the three existing transmitters and installed a 10 kilowatt (powerful in those days) transmitter on the reef near Johannesburg, but this station failed to cover the country adequately. In its ten year period the company built new

stations at Cape Town and Durban and built relay stations at Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Grahamstown and Pietermaritzburg, but never completely succeeded in providing coverage for the whole country.

During its period of operation the company broadcast about twelve hours a day, almost exclusively in English. Afrikaans was used one hour a week from Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Prior to the expiry of the African Broadcasting Corporation licence, the government brought in Sir John Reith, Director-General of the BBC, to study the South African broadcasting situation and make recommendations. He suggested the formation of a non-profit, public utility corporation to serve the entire country. His recommendations were accepted and in 1936 the government passed the Broadcasting Act creating the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), controlled by a Board of nine Governors appointed by the state president and reporting annually to Parliament.

One of the stipulations of the Broadcasting Act was that "the Corporation shall frame and carry out its broadcasting programmes with due regard to both English and Afrikaans culture." The Corporation was to be financed by the sale of listeners' licences.

It was immediately decided to begin bilingual broadcasting with all programme announcements made alternately in English and Afrikaans. It soon became obvious that ~~this~~ was unsatisfactory and fourteen months after its formation the Corporation undertook to provide separate English and Afrikaans services.

The short-wave transmitters were immediately leased from the Post Office and an Afrikaans service was broadcast on them. English was continued on the medium wave transmitters. This proved a satisfactory stand-by arrangement for the bulk of the English-speaking audiences were in the cities serviced by the medium-wave stations, while the Afrikaans-speaking population lived in the country, more easily serviced by short wave. The first Afrikaans service programme was broadcast October 27, 1937.

Technical difficulties involved in covering a re-creation of the "Great Trek" on its centenary in 1939, made it obvious that the existing network was insufficient, and planning began for two country-wide networks with interchanges of programmes between various centres. The development of ~~this~~ programme was retarded by World War II. During the war migration of Afrikaners to the cities made the services previously set up even more inadequate.

Immediately following the war, work was begun on a series of medium-wave transmitters to carry both networks. The cost of expansion made new financial support necessary, and rather than increase licence fees, the SABC began a commercial network, forming a third service. This commercial network, Springbok Radio, began operation in 1950 and was very soon a commercial success. With the advent of the third service, transmitting stations were devised to transmit all three from the same site. The SABC's short-wave "Africa Service" was also begun in 1950.

The English and Afrikaans services carried a few programmes in several Bantu and Indian languages as well. In 1952 a rediffusion service was begun for the African township of Orlando near Johannesburg, operating 15 hours a day with nine hours of programming in Zulu, Sotho and Xhosa. The Bantu language content increased constantly.

In 1956 the National Short-Wave Centre was established at Paradys, some 12 miles ~~from~~ Bloemfontein. Paradys has nine short-wave transmitters, two of which are used for the International (Africa) Service and seven for the three national programmes.

On December 6, 1960, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs announced the Corporation's intention of gradually

replacing the medium and short-wave transmissions within South Africa with a system of very high frequency FM stations. In 1951 a loan of R 2 million (11 million) was obtained. The total cost of the proposed 123 stations with 485 transmitters is R 24 million (12 million).

The first VHF-FM tower went into service at Brixton near Johannesburg on December 22, 1961. For the first time six broadcast transmitter outputs were fed through a single antenna system. By 1962 three more towers were completed. The project is planned to be completed in 1967. The main production centres will remain at Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

In 1960 the SABC began setting up a series of FM stations to broadcast in Bantu languages to local groups. Several stations have now been developed.

In 1964 commercial FM stations broadcasting bilingual English-Afrikaans programmes were announced. So far only two, Radio Highveld in Pretoria and Radio Good Hope in the Western Cape, have been established. Others will follow. This will not, however, supplant the national English and Afrikaans services and Springbok.

The SABC has close contacts with the BBC and the Belgian and Dutch Broadcasting systems.

Special problems

Radio and particularly television have several serious problems to overcome in the establishing of complete coverage in South Africa. Among other difficulties is the large distance to be covered, coupled with the sparse population over much of it. A third serious technical problem is the interference caused by electrical disturbances, particularly severe thunderstorms which occur on the high veld areas.

However, South African programmers have one great advantage over Canada: the country has only one time zone, which permits all broadcasting to be transmitted simultaneously throughout the country.

News service

All South African Broadcasting Corporation stations have a common news service where nearly all news reports are received. Reports not prepared by the Service itself must follow their regulations and are subject to SABC approval.

For South African news the SABC relies on its own staff of 89 in five regional news offices supplemented by 1,300 part-time correspondents in the Republic and South West Africa and on the services of the South African Press Association (SAPA). Foreign news is received from the SAPA, Reuters, Associated Press, United Press International, Agence France-Presse and Deutsche Press-Agentur. As well, the Corporation appointed

its own full-time representative in Paris in May 1964 and also makes use of the services of special correspondents in the United States and several African states.

At different times the SABC has sent special correspondents overseas to cover particular events. In 1963 a correspondent covered the United Nations debate on South Africa and in 1960 a man was sent to cover the Congo crisis.

By 1964 the news department was preparing 79 news bulletins a day (not counting those on radio Bantu). The bulletins begin at 4.55 a.m. and continue until after midnight. Most of these bulletins are prepared in English or Afrikaans, although each week there are news broadcasts in Italian, Portuguese and Greek for immigrants to South Africa. Some of these news reports are primarily local news, prepared for local transmission only.

Identical news broadcasts used to be prepared for the different services, but now each shift has a team for each language. Regional news programmes are prepared locally and broadcast for about ten minutes a day.

News policy

The SABC annual reports stress constantly that "the News Service continues to adhere strictly to its policy of

presenting factual, correct and objective news."¹ However, the SABC is greatly restricted in its reporting, particularly of South African affairs, which must meet several requirements. The news policy was outlined in the SABC 1961 annual report.

In accordance with the Corporation's function to prepare for broadcast factual and impartial news and information of a regional, national, international and general nature, it has been laid down that all news and information shall be objective and impartial and presented only on the basis of factual news value. Both sides of a contentious matter are presented in a balanced way. Comment in the form of statements or explanations are only broadcast when emanating from an authoritative person, a recognized expert, or a spokesman speaking on behalf of an organization or body in his official capacity, or officially from such an organization or body. Furthermore, no report contains anything which conflicts with the laws of the land and provincial ordinances of the Republic of South Africa.

Political reports are regarded as contentious and are only broadcast when they are of a factual and/or authoritative nature, or if they consist of a positive policy statement by a political party presented in Parliament and do not contain comparisons with, or comment on, the declared policy or conduct of other South African national parties.²

Political arguments are not used. The news code prescribes a strict policy in regard to religion; crime and sensation; suicide; good taste and publicity.

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1. South African Broadcasting Corporation, Annual Report, 1964 p. 19.
 2. Ibid., pp. 6-8.

And in the same report:

In news broadcasts every effort is consistently made to present both sides of a matter which may be of a contentious nature. Reports on internal politics are regarded as prima facie contentious and only broadcast when the source is a recognized leader of a political party represented in Parliament and when the report is a positive statement of policy not involving argumentation.

....Conscientious steps must be taken to ensure that the medium does not become the instrument, even unwittingly, of forces striving for lawlessness and chaos.¹

Despite the SABC's claims of unbiased service its critics are many, particularly among the English-speaking. For example, on July, 10, 1961, the Cape Argus commented:

But the public has one complaint about Radio South Africa and that is the way in which the news is selected and presented. On every side it is said that the news is "slanted" and that when possible the Nationalist attitude on race and policies is stressed.

However, Dr. Verwoerd explains this type of charge as simply stemming from the English-speaking expectation that news will be slanted to their point of view. For example, he said:

Honourable Members opposite are so accustomed to the prejudiced and partial news service that they have had for years [in the English language press] that they can no longer see or hear a general national point of view...[They] resent the attempt of the SABC to guide the people to consider the interests of South Africa and South Africa only.¹

1. South African Institute of Race Relations. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1964 (Johannesburg, 1965), pp. 48-49.

However, the Minister of Finance phased it differently in another context, "Must we not...see to it that the inhabitants of the Transkei and the Bantu in South Africa have some counter-propaganda?"¹

Another disclaimer of partiality was made in 1965 by a Nationalist Senator, J.H. Grobler, who said the SABC was doing its duty to South Africa in supporting the traditional policy of the country which was separate development.²

He made the statement in reply to an attack by United Party Senator G. A. Rall in the Senate that the SABC programme, "Let Us Talk Politics" was "blatant nationalist propaganda" which he said gave the impression that South Africa had only the choice of total apartheid or total integration. Senator Rall also claimed the programme gave a distorted view of United Party policy.

The Rand Daily Mail commented the following day:

Senator Grobler, along with everybody else in the country, knows, and he has had the courage (or the clumsiness) to admit, that the SABC is committed to disseminating Government propaganda.

The fact that he regards this as "a duty" should occasion no surprise. For some time now it has been apparent that a large and growing body of Nationalists - the SABC included - sees the national broadcasting system's task in this light. Only such an attitude

1. Ibid.

2. Rand Daily Mail, May 19, 1965.

could possibly accept Dr. Piet Meyer's Broederbond - orientated broadcasts as being either "balanced" or "circumspect".¹

An SABC official, answering criticism of the news services during an interview, explained that "the SABC is at the service of the state, - no matter which party is in power."

These news broadcasts take up an important portion of the time on the English and Afrikaans networks.

In 1964 news and news commentaries took up 13 hours and 50 minutes a week on the English service, 11.7 percent of all time, and 12 hours and 25 minutes on the Africans service or 10.57 percent of all time.

Current Affairs

In 1964 the SABC also formed a current affairs section. The announcement of the service read in part:

Topics of national interest about which there are differences of opinion or policy in the party-political arena will be treated with the necessary circumspection, so that all aspects and the most important and responsible points of view are reflected. Everything which may disrupt or be harmful to the traditionally good mutual relations between the various non-white population groups in our country and between them and the white population groups, will be scrupulously avoided, as in all other programmes of the SABC.²

1. Ibid., May 20, 1965.

2. South African Broadcasting Corporation, Annual Report, 1964, p. 36.

The English-speaking, at least, complain that, since 1960 or so, current affairs programmes on the SABC are becoming less and less statements of free opinion and more and more government propaganda.

Music

The English and Afrikaans service also share a common music service.

Aside from recorded music this department is responsible for the SABC symphony orchestra. The orchestra, founded in 1954, is used not only for radio programmes, but gives a large number of public concerts every year. It has been conducted by several prominent guest conductors, including Sir Malcolm Sargent and Arthur Fiedler, and also performs with local and visiting artists. One important rôle of the orchestra has been to present South African works on the air and at public performances.

The service also holds competitions for South African composers and occasionally commissions special compositions from South African composers. As well the department is responsible for co-ordinating programmes on both services to prevent similar types of music being played simultaneously.

The department has undertaken the collection of Afrikaans hymns and other local music and has attempted to better the quality of "Boere musiek" (the South African equivalent to "country and western"). In 1964, 62 hours and 42 minutes of music were played during an average week

on the English service, or 53.37 per cent of the time, and 60 hours on the Afrikaans programme or 51.05 per cent of the time. A classification by type of music follows.

TABLE V

Music on the SABC, 1964

(Source: SABC Annual Report, 1964)

(Weekly Average)

Type	Afrikaans Service		English Service	
	Total hours	Hours as % of total programming	Total hours	Hours as % of total programming
Serious Music	19.25	16.52	21.10	18.02
Light Music	32.35	27.73	40.37	34.57
Dance Music	4.00	3.40	.40	.57
Boeremusiek	4.00	3.40	.15	.21
Total music	59.60	51.05	62.02	53.37

Local talent

The SABC has taken several steps to encourage local talent, non-white as well as white. Local musicians are hired by the SABC and the symphony orchestra often features local soloists.

The Corporation also grants prizes for musical composition and radio dramas, as well as commissioning special musical and dramatic works.

English Service

More than half of the English service is composed of musical shows. In 1964, 53.37 per cent of the average week's broadcast time was devoted to music. Since the 1950's there has been a decided trend away from serious music on the service to light music, which in 1964 accounted for 34.57 per cent of programme time. Following music, news and sport respectively occupied 11.77 per cent and 7.73 per cent of broadcast time, while drama and features fell from its 1953 total of 11.00 per cent to 3.12 per cent.

TABLE VI

Content of English Service

(Source: SABC, 1953, 1960, 1964)

	1953		1960		1964	
	Hrs.	%	Hrs.	%	Hrs.	%
News, News Commentaries	8.08	7.78	10.15	9.07	13.50	11.77
Talks and magazines	6.00	5.74	4.30	3.98	7.35	6.45
Ag. broadcasts & repts.	-	-	1.00	0.89	2.05	1.77
Discussion Programmes	-	-	0.40	0.59	1.10	1.00
Sport	4.30	4.30	7.10	6.33	9.05	7.73
Phys. Cult. Exercises	2.30	2.39	1.00	0.89	1.00	.85
Religious Broadcasts	5.00	4.78	6.50	6.05	6.33	5.58
Literary Progs.	2.30	2.39	2.10	1.92	1.55	1.63
Drama and Features	11.00	10.52	6.15	5.53	3.40	3.12
Youth & children & Schools	5.45	5.50	7.45	6.85	6.40	5.67
Variety	2.00	1.91	4.40	4.13	1.15	1.06
Serious Music	24.30	23.43	28.15	25.01	21.10	18.02
Light Music	26.30	25.34	31.00	27.43	40.37	34.57
Dance Music	1.30	1.43	1.30	1.33	.40	.57
Boeremusiek	.15	.24	-	-	.15	.21
Bantu	1.30	1.43	-	-	-	-
Reports	2.57	2.82	-	-	-	-
Total	104.35	100.00	113.00	100.00	117.30	100.00

The Afrikaans Service

The Afrikaans service, like the English service, relies on music for more than half its programme time, although the total reliance on music has dropped from 58.71 per cent of total time in 1953 to 51.05 per cent in 1964. Again serious music has decreased through time at the expense of lighter music.¹

News takes second place with 10.57 per cent of the time in 1954 followed by religious broadcasts with 7.94 per cent of the time. Sport takes up only 4.25 per cent of the time.

1. One of the reasons for this decline in serious music on both services has been the multiplication of broadcasting services, with serious music being played to a greater extent on the new FM stations.

TABLE VII

Content of Afrikaans service
(Source: SABC Annual Reports 1953, 1960, 1964)

	1953		1960		1964	
	Hrs.	%	Hrs.	%	Hrs.	%
News, News Commentaries	8.08	7.78	10.18	9.10	12.25	10.57
Talks and magazines	4.00	3.82	3.55	3.40	6.25	5.46
Ag. Broadcasts and rpts.	—	—	2.33	2.20	5.35	4.75
Discussion programs	—	—	0.30	0.40	0.15	0.21
Sport	6.45	6.45	4.30	4.00	5.00	4.25
Physical culture exercises	2.30	2.39	1.00	0.90	—	—
Religious Broadcasts	5.13	4.94	7.20	6.40	9.20	7.94
Literary Programs	1.00	.96	2.30	2.20	2.00	1.75
Drama & Features	4.30	4.31	6.00	5.30	4.30	3.83
Youth, children & schools	5.45	5.50	7.20	6.40	6.15	5.32
Variety	1.30	1.43	2.45	2.40	0.40	0.57
Serious Music	24.41	23.60	25.21	22.40	19.25	16.52
Light Music	28.36	27.35	30.04	27.00	32.35	27.73
Dance Music	0.45	.72	—	—	4.00	3.40
Boeremusiek	7.22	7.04	8.54	7.90	4.00	3.40
Bantu Housewife progs.	1.30	1.43	—	—	3.00	2.55
Reports	2.20	2.23	—	—	—	—
Immigrant progs.	—	—	—	—	.40	0.57
Coloured progs.	—	—	—	—	1.25	1.21
Total	104.35	100.00	113.00	100.00	117.30	100.00

The Afrikaans service faces many programming difficulties. Afrikaans transcriptions are not readily available, and transcriptions from Holland and Belgium are in Dutch and Flemish. They are understandable, but they are not Afrikaans.

Most of the dramas presented on the service must also be translated into Afrikaans, and though the number of original Afrikaans works is growing, fully 75 per cent of the plays produced are translated from other languages.

Apparently Afrikaans music is also difficult to obtain. In February 1964, Mr. J.S.F. du Toit, chairman of the federal council of Afrikaans liaison committees, charged that Afrikaans music was being neglected on the SABC's Afrikaans programme. He said that the programme was "90 per cent English".

If people sing in English today, they will pray in English tomorrow and the day after their whole way of life will be English.¹

The SABC replied that an investigation over three months showed that 60 per cent of the music broadcast had Afrikaans words and 40 per cent had English words. Of the 50 light orchestras and soloists broadcasting in the Afrikaans service, 40 performed Afrikaans music exclusively.

1. Cape Argus, February 15, 1964.

Commercial services

The SABC's commercial service, Springbok Radio, was inaugurated May 1, 1950. Carrying both English and Afrikaans programmes, it rapidly became both a commercial and listening success. In the last few years it has sold all but a minute fraction of its commercial time, gathering the largest listening audience in South Africa at the same time. Its only commercial competition is Lourenço Marques radio, broadcasting in English and Afrikaans from neighbouring Mozambique.

Though at first Springbok relied heavily on transcribed programmes from overseas, it has annually built up its roster of South African produced programmes. By 1964 only 8 hours of the 132 hours per week Springbok is on the air were foreign transcriptions.

Springbok's daily schedule is largely made up of music. In 1963, 66.7 per cent of programme time was devoted to music, 0.8 per cent to variety programmes and 32.5 to speech programmes.

There is no breakdown on the ratio of language usage, but morning and evening programmes are largely English medium while very popular Afrikaans serials are carried in the afternoons. In 1964 for the first time an hour-long play in Afrikaans was broadcast by Springbok on prime evening time.

Although both languages are often used on the same programme, there is an attempt not to use English commercials on purely Afrikaans programmes and vice versa. The language of a programme is based on expediency.

In 1964 Springbok's listener surveys showed it got an average of 48 per cent of the total White listeners in South Africa.

Special FM Services

Two special FM services, Radio Highveld and the Special FM service of Radio South Africa, were begun September 1, 1964. A third FM service, Radio Good Hope, was added in July 1965. These services are bilingual and carry commercial spot announcements.

Radio Highveld and Radio Good Hope broadcast on FM from 5 a.m. (6 a.m. on Sundays) to midnight to listeners on the Witwatersrand, Pretoria and vicinity and the Western Cape. The Special FM Service is carried from midnight until 5 a.m. (6 a.m. Sunday) on all FM stations and on shortwave transmitters normally carrying the programmes of Radio Springbok.

Radio Highveld carries 18 hourly news bulletins daily, the bulletins alternating between English and Afrikaans. News and features make up about an hour's programming daily on radio Highveld, with the remainder being music.

FM stations similar to Radio Highveld and Radio Good Hope are planned for other areas in the Republic.

Bantu Radio

Though broadcasts had been made on other services in Bantu languages, a special service for the Bantu did not come into operation until August 1962 when a rediffusion service was begun for the Bantu townships in the Orlando area just outside of Johannesburg. (Rediffusion consists of "piping" the broadcasts to each radio receiver by wire). By 1957 the area was receiving 16 hours of programmes a day, nine of them in Bantu languages (Zulu, Sotho and Xhosa). The large part of the programme was composed of Bantu music.

In 1960 the SABC outlined in its annual report plans to begin full service Bantu language broadcasts on UHF and medium-wave frequencies. Eventually the programmes would be in Xhosa (for the Eastern and Western Cape); Zulu (for Natal and the Witwatersrand); Northern Sotho (for sections of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State); Southern Sotho (in Southern Transvaal and the Orange Free State); Tswana (for Western Transvaal) and Venda-Tsonga (for Northern Transvaal). The rediffusion service to Orlando was to continue.

By 1964 Radio Bantu was broadcasting 63 hours daily on five different services in Zulu, Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tswana and Xhosa. The services in Zulu and Southern Sotho were broadcast $16\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day and the remaining three for 10 hours a day. By 1965 the Venda-Tsonga programme was also on the air.

In 1960, as an interim arrangement, English and Afrikaans medium-wave transmitters were used to broadcast Bantu programmes from 5.30 a.m. to 6.30 a.m. weekdays (6.30 a.m. to 7.30 a.m. Sundays), as well as for a half-hour from 9:30 a.m. to 10.00 a.m. which was already in use for Bantu programmes. At this time 15 regional news broadcasts were being made daily in five Bantu languages.

By 1962 FM broadcasts to a total of 51½ hours daily had been started in five Bantu languages, with the time expanding to 63 hours by 1964.

Much of Radio Bantu's programming is Bantu music and the SABC has been pursuing an extensive programme of recording and preserving original Bantu music. As well as the regular type of sports, drama and variety programming, Radio Bantu has presented many Bantu-written short stories and translations from other languages. At least two Bantu operettas have been performed.

In 1964 a school service was begun on Radio Bantu between 10.00 a.m. and 10.30 a.m. and schools in receiving areas were supplied with FM receivers. Lessons were presented in several subjects, including Bantu languages, English, Afrikaans, music, social and natural sciences and education in general.

Some commercial messages were permitted on Radio Bantu beginning in 1962.

A language department was set up in 1964 for the guidance of announcers. In 1962 there were 123 Bantu members of the programme staff, 44 of them announcers.

Thirty-five whites had been appointed to managerial positions.

In 1964 Radio Bantu received 1,274,695 letters from listeners.

Programmes for other groups

Special programmes for the Coloureds and Indians are carried on the English and Afrikaans services at special times on Saturdays and Sundays. The Coloured Programmes are broadcast in the Cape while programmes in Indian languages are broadcast from Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Performers on these programmes are often of the racial group being catered to.

Africa Service

The Africa Service is the SABC's shortwave or international service. It is broadcast on the 11 - metre band from 11.00 to 16.00 hours GMT and on the 19 - metre band from 11.00 to 18.00 hours GMT.

The Africa Service is in Afrikaans on Mondays, Wednesday, Fridays and Sundays and in English on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. It usually features selected programmes from the English and Afrikaans services.

A new short-wave transmitter was opened October 27, 1965, at Bloemendal. Known as the "Voice of South Africa" it carried broadcasts in nine languages - English, Afrikaans, Portuguese, French, Spanish, German, Dutch, Chinyanya and Swahili.

According to an article in the South African Scope:

Besides forty news bulletins a day, the external services of the South African Broadcasting Corporation will ultimately offer a variety of programmes giving a panoramic view of South Africa and her peoples. These broadcasts will carry a positive and objective message on the beauty and wealth of the country, on its peoples and their achievements, its culture and its art, its past and present and its traditions and ideals.

The transmitter is one of four 250 kilowatt transmitters planned by South Africa to broadcast directly to Europe, Africa and the United States.

Bilingual Programmes

After its first attempt with bilingual programming in 1936 the SABC abandoned it until 1961¹ when several bilingual programmes were broadcast over the English and Afrikaans networks. Programmes tried out included Programparade / Programme Parade: Oop Gespiel / Conversation Piece and Langs die Trekpad / Down Your Way. During the bilingual programme light music was played on the other service.

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1. The first bilingual programming in 1936 was abandoned because both groups objected, the English-speaking because they disliked the Afrikaans language, the Afrikaners because they felt so much English would be to the detriment of Afrikaans.

However, Radio Highveld and Radio Good Hope are completely bilingual stations. The SABC has made a tape of some bilingual broadcasts available to the Commission. Springbok Radio also uses both languages, though individual programmes often tend to be unilingual.

Though SABC policy is to hire bilingual employees, these are never given language tests. The corporation has a policy of language alternation for internal communication in all but the two unilingual services. Both languages are used for board and committee meetings.

Language bureau

The SABC originally set up two committees to rule on the usage and pronunciation of English and Afrikaans. These two committees have been disbanded and a language bureau has been established. Two full-time language consultants, one for the English service, one for the Afrikaans, have been employed. This enables quick decisions on language policy to be made. The bureau also does some translations though many are farmed out.

For English broadcasting the stress is placed on proper pronunciation, particularly of South African names and place names. There is little difficulty with accent.

In the Afrikaans service the main effort is oriented toward avoiding Anglicisms and Latinisms. Much emphasis is placed on technical vocabulary and the establishing of Afrikaans variants of English names. There is little problem with accent which is pretty well standard throughout the country.

Other languages

The SABC also broadcasts programmes on its domestic service in other European languages for unilingual immigrants.

Twenty minutes a week are devoted to both Portuguese and modern Greek on the English Service and the Afrikaans service broadcasts 30 minutes a week in Italian and 10 minutes a week alternately in French and German. Since 1963 pressure for broadcasts in other languages has been resisted.

The programmes consist of the music of each of the groups, world and homeland news.

Staff

The SABC annual reports do not breakdown staff by services. By 1964 the SABC had a total staff of 1,976 (1,350 Whites and 626 non-Whites).

TABLE VIII

SABC Staff
(Source: SABC Annual Reports, 1953, 1955, 1960, 1964)

Year	Total	Whites	Non-Whites
1953	1192	938	254
1955	1286	967	319
1960	1535	1205	330
1964	1976	1350	626

Financing

The SABC is financed through the revenues of its commercial operations and the sale of radio listener licences.

Beginning in the mid-1950s the SABC faced a financial crisis. According to annual reports money shortages not only prevented expansion but seriously hampered replacements and forced a cut-back in "live" programming. By 1959 the Corporation was still reporting difficulties, with normal working expenses up 6 per cent, but revenue only up 4 per cent.

During 1961 the situation eased with provisions requiring the licensing of second and third receivers in a home. As well the government granted the Corporation a long term loan of R 1,800,000. The Corporation has also increased its commercial rates for Radio Bantu and extended its commercial services to the special FM stations such as Radio Highveld and Radio Good Hope which serve particular areas.

The major portion of the SABC's finances comes from the sale of licences. These are sold by the Post Office Department, a collection charge is subtracted and the rest is paid to the Corporation.

In 1964, the Post Office issued 1,279,986 radio listening licences.

TABLE IX
Radio Listening Licences
(Source: SABC Annual Reports)

Year	No.
1930	25,121
1940	283,119
1950	554,863
1960	999,358
1964	1,279,986

Of the total revenue, licence fees made up 59.2 per cent in 1964 with commercial services making up 29.9 per cent and other sources of revenue the rest.

Revenue for selected recent years has been:

TABLE X
SABC Revenue
(Source: SABC Annual Reports)

Year	Total	Licences	%	Commercial Services	%
1958	R4,354,436	R2,637,598	60.6	R1,598,568	36.7
1961	R5,438,582	R3,397,263	62.5	R1,883,676	34.6
1964	R9,364,178	R5,546,346	59.2	R2,803,262	29.9

In 1964 total expenditure was R9,364,178, made up of R3,532,926 or 37.7 per cent for programming; R1,417,867 or 15.1 per cent for engineering; R1,315,635 or 14.0 per cent for administrative expenses. The rest, or R3,097,750 (33.1 per cent) went to interest and principal payments on loans and into various funds.

Television

The Republic of South Africa has no television though by 1949 provision had been made for it in the SABC Act, "subject to the approval of the Governor General" (now State President).

Businessmen have been particularly active in lobbying for television, but so far the government has refused, though it admits that TV will come sometime in the future.

As early as 1955 South African Postmaster-General L. C. Burke announced that preparations were being made to introduce television into South Africa.¹ He said technicians from the Department of Posts and Telegraphs and from the SABC were studying the technical problems of such an undertaking. At the time it was thought service would originally be confined to Johannesburg, Capetown and Durban. The basic question under discussion was whether television would be a state service or privately owned.

A distinct change in attitude was evident in 1960 when Dr. Albert Hertzog, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, said:²

We must not forget that television is in effect only a miniature bioscope [i.e., cinema] which is being carried into the house and over which parents have no control.

Unlike ordinary bioscopes, where parents can pick films for their children, this is not the case with television. The result is that films, programmes, etc., can be brought in which can be highly detrimental.

The effect of the wrong picture on children, the less developed and other races can be destructive.

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1. The Globe and Mail, Toronto, March 17, 1955, p. 30.
 2. Ibid., January 1960, article by Leonard Ingalls, New York Times Service.

He said it was almost impossible for the state to exercise control over television.

At the same time a ban was put on the discussion of television on the SABC. A travel talk on New York had several minutes on the TV industry cut from it and a discussion of TV by Sir Roy Welensky, then Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was cancelled.

The advantages and disadvantages of TV have been discussed by Dr. Verwoerd and his cabinet and one of the major problems is believed to be the cost of providing sufficient and acceptable programmes in Afrikaans. The Afrikaans film-industry is not yet capable of supplying sufficient films and the network would have to rely on imported English language productions from England and North America.

A newspaper article in 1964¹ quotes Dr. Albert Hertzog, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, describing "the little black box" as a deadly weapon which has been used to undermine the morale of white men and even to destroy great empires. He argues that those attempting to bring in television are bent on destroying white rule in South Africa. Again in 1965 a SABC official described television as a "seductive medium" in an interview with Professor K. D. McRae, and said that the country could not afford it. Any decision taken concerning television will be made by the government and not the SABC.

1. Ibid., Nov. 14, 1964.

Appendix A

Lourenço Marques Radio

(from an interview by Dr. McRae)

Lourenço Marques Radio is not strictly a South African station because it broadcasts from outside the country in Mozambique. However its programmes are aimed directly at South Africa.

According to its management, Lourenço Marques Radio uses both short and medium-wave and has the most powerful transmitter in Africa. It broadcasts commercial programmes 24 hours a day in English and Afrikaans, competing with SABC's Springbok Radio. In some areas it has a stronger signal than any of the SABC services.

Lourenço Marques began broadcasting in 1936 and was the sole broadcaster of commercial programmes to the Union until the founding of Springbok Radio in 1950. Springbok drew some advertisers from Lourenço Marques, but now time on both systems is sold out.

Lourenço Marques has no political broadcasts. Most programmes are basically music and Lourenço Marques caters to "young adult" audiences with a large proportion of Boeremusiek. Technical difficulties reduce the quality of classical music which might be broadcast by Lourenço Marques and the station cannot switch to better fidelity FM because of the distance involved.

The management estimates about 70 per cent of its listeners are Afrikaans-speaking. In the morning from seven to nine o'clock all announcements of records are made in Afrikaans, but at other times the station tries to be bilingual. Record requests are given in the language of the letter and commercials in different languages are given on the same programme.

Lourenço Marques estimates that it gets about one-third of the South African commercial audience.

Confidential

Appendix B

Listenership surveys

Listenership surveys¹ taken for the SABC showed that in 1964 on weekdays Springbok Radio was most popular with from 41 to 47 per cent of all listeners (the population listening sometime during the day), the Afrikaans service was second with ratings from 31 to 36 per cent, Lourenço Marques third, 14 to 17 per cent and the English Service fourth with 11 to 13 per cent.²

Saturday ratings were: Springbok, 30-36 per cent; Afrikaans service, 27-35 per cent; Lourenço Marques, 13-17 per cent; English service, 12-17 per cent.

Sunday ratings: Springbok, 26-32 per cent; Afrikaans service, 25-29 per cent; Lourenço Marques, 17-21 per cent; English service, 7-11 per cent.

For all programmes on all stations in one sample period in November and December 1964 the highest rated programmes were the Afrikaans Service news at 7 p.m. and evening prayers at 7:15, each drawing about 25 per cent of the total potential White listening audience.

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1. Based on total white adult (16 years and over) population.
 2. Totals can be more than 100 if a person listens to more than one station during the day.

The surveys also showed that appreciable numbers of both language groups listened to bilingual Springbok and Lourenço Marques. However the Springbok Radio showed some variation by listening groups by language, the English group being quite high in the evening when English programmes predominate.

Appendix C

Illicit Broadcasting

From 1958 to 1961 an anti-government group broadcast short programmes from within the Union. Using portable transmitters the group broadcast for 15 minutes each Sunday evening, varying their location so that government detection trucks could not pin-point them. The time and wavelength of the broadcasts were generally known.

The broadcasts, chiefly in Natal and Transvaal, were pre-recorded in English. They were strongly pro-British in tone and attacked the government for alleged repressive laws, ministerial corruption, gerrymandering and packing the Senate, SABC and judiciary with government supporters.

One of the transmitters was seized while on the air. The broadcasts have not taken place now for several years.

5. Films

(From UNESCO Communications Yearbook)

South Africa has a small film industry, producing almost exclusively in the Afrikaans language.

From the end of World War II to 1961 about 25 feature films, all in Afrikaans, were produced in the Republic. English language films are imported from the United States and the U.K.

Two studios make feature films and several producers are active in the 16 mm. field. The government subsidizes all feature length films with a rebate of entertainment tax amounting to about \$28,000 per feature.

The Ministry of Education, Arts and Science produces 16 mm. educational films and film strips.

To the present, most of the films shown in South Africa are shown in English. However, the Afrikaans film makers are gaining competence and their films are steadily achieving wider acceptance among both language groups. Recently some of their films have won international festival awards.

6. Conclusions

For the most part, news and information presented by the mass media in South Africa are to be suspected, and changes in the Canadian scene to conform to South African standards would be a retrograde step.

However there is one area in which South African experiments may prove of benefit - language use in broadcasting. It is true that the single time zone in South Africa facilitates many difficult aspects of programming, but nonetheless the SABC has devised what at first sight is an effective, multilingual broadcast service that covers the country. Of particular interest should be their new bilingual FM stations. A model for a bilingual Canadian network, based on regional transmitters, could be constructed on the basis of the South African work. The South African system of broadcasting in native African and foreign languages should also be considered.

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PRIVATE BUSINESS

by

J.L. SADIE

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PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS IN
SOUTH AFRICA

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K.A. Heard

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PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Introduction

The part played by private associations in the social, economic and political life of a nation has received considerable attention from scholars in recent years. There is today, in consequence, a very substantial literature on the subject; but, unfortunately, there is so far no adequate study in print that deals in a general way with the structure, activities and political role of associations in South Africa. There is a reasonable amount of material on specifically Afrikaner associations, the discussion of which will make up the bulk of this chapter; but very little indeed has been written on the rest of the field.

In spite of the deficiencies in material, however, we should say something about the general nature of associations in South Africa. There are, of course, a number of ways in which associations may be classified; but for present purposes we may perhaps deal with the following categories: (i) associations in which both language groups are represented; (ii) those which are predominantly comprised of English-speaking people because of Afrikaner withdrawals; (iii) those which from the beginning have been specifically, and sometimes

intentionally, English-speaking in composition; and (iv) those which are specifically Afrikaner in membership and orientation. No effort will be made to provide a comprehensive list of associations falling within each category; but the attempt will be made to assess the significance of each category and to indicate some of the more important associations typically falling within it. The main emphasis, however, will be placed on specifically Afrikaner associations (the fourth category), since these represent for the most part associations that have been deliberately created in order to serve the purposes of Afrikaner nationalist ideology.

Composite associations, those representing both language groups, are mainly found within territory that is politically neutral. In this area, for example, we find the Law Societies and Provincial Bar Councils; the South African Medical Association and its provincial and regional branches; the provincial societies of accountants - in short, most professional organizations comprehend both language groups. The professions generally, it might be noted, have a majority of English-speaking members, but they still contain a considerable number of Afrikaans members. Thus in 1960 there were 4,456 medical practitioners with English as their home language, 2,017 with Afrikaans, and 181 with "both". Of the 4,826 "jurists" 2,964 were English-speaking and 1,708 Afrikaans-speaking. Among chartered accountants, there were only 952 Afrikaners compared

with 4,969 English-speaking.¹ Then, too, while there is a paucity of "learned societies" in South Africa, those that do exist - e.g. the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, the Economics Society and the Psychology Society - are mostly supported by both language groups.

There is, however, a large number of associations which began as composite associations but which are now predominantly English-speaking because of the formation of parallel associations by Afrikaners. The reason for the creation of parallel Afrikaans associations usually, although not invariably, contains an ideological element. The motorists' organizations - the Automobile Association and the Royal Automobile Club - are both affiliated with parent organizations in England and might be regarded by some as not wholly indigenous. The establishment of Rondalia as a rival organization should, however, be regarded for the most part as a commercial venture that profits from the Afrikaner's sense of loyalty towards Afrikaans enterprises. A considerable number of Afrikaners are still members at least of the Automobile Association (cf. the much publicized attempt a few years ago of the Broederbond to "capture" the directorate), but the composition of the membership is no

1. These figures are taken from J. Gordon, "Economic and Social Statistics of South Africa", in Bilingualism in South Africa, Vol. I, Commission Report VIII-B, No. 11, Table XVI, p. 229.

doubt mainly English-speaking, certainly more so than it would have been if Rondalia had not been formed. The Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Mines and the Chamber of Industry, similarly fall in the group of predominantly English-speaking associations although their aims are economic, not political. But the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (see below) was formed partly because the Afrikaners came late into the field and found the existing institutions predominantly English, and partly for positive reasons of nationalist ideology. Much the same could be said of the Trade Unions, and, to go to the opposite extreme, of the Boy Scouts movement.

The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) originally served as a national organization for the students of both language groups, but in 1932 the Afrikaans students withdrew to form the Afrikaans-Nasionale Studentebond, which after a rather lean period was re-formed in 1948 as the Afrikaanse Studentebond (A.S.B. - The Afrikaans Students' Society). The point of departure was mainly over the question of non-White student membership. NUSAS has consistently stood for integrated racial membership, and has in recent years become strongly critical of government policy¹. The split between the

1. In consequence, radio propaganda and Nationalist speakers (including Cabinet Ministers) have inveighed against NUSAS. The present president of NUSAS was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act shortly before Senator Kennedy's visit to South Africa as a guest of NUSAS.

ASB and NUSAS is thus both linguistic and ideological.

In a generally similar fashion, Die Suid-Afrikaanse Buro vir Rase Aangeleenthede (SABRA - The South African Bureau for Race Affairs) was established in 1947 in opposition to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) which had been formed in 1929. While both bodies claim to study race relations with scientific objectivity, the findings and reports of the Institute are generally as critical of government policies as those of SABRA are favourable.

There are very few associations that are specifically or deliberately English-speaking in composition and orientation. Of those that do exist undoubtedly the so-called "English" Churches are by far the most important. Unfortunately census material does not differentiate church membership according to home language; but it is common knowledge that the Dutch Reformed Churches are supported almost exclusively by Afrikaners and that only a relatively small percentage of Afrikaners are members of other churches.

In 1960 the Dutch Reformed Churches between them had a total of 1,618,156 members, or 52.4 per cent of the White population. The membership of the other major churches was: Anglican, 389,859 (12.6%); Presbyterian, 110,873 (3.6%);

Methodist, 269,825 (8.7%); Roman Catholic, 192,799 (6.2%).¹

Probably none of the last-named churches would identify itself as serving the needs of a specific language group, but the language used in services is determined by and itself determines the predominant language among its members. The Dutch Reformed Church, however, does conceive itself as having a pastoral mission with respect to the Afrikaans community.²

In effect, then, the Churches are divided on a linguistic basis; but more than that, the so-called "English" Churches are predominantly opposed in principle to the concept as well as to the practice of apartheid, whereas the Dutch Reformed Churches tend, for the most part (there are individual exceptions) to support apartheid and to justify it on theological grounds.

There are as well such associations as the Sons of England and the Caledonian Society, generally referred to as patriotic organizations, which are specifically English-speaking. The Sons of England particularly has been the subject of much Nationalist criticism on the ground that, from the South African point of view, it is unpatriotic. It

1. These figures are taken from J. Gordon, op. cit., Table VIII, p. 217.

2. It also, however, acknowledges its separate mission with respect to the non-White peoples.

probably has served to preserve the "home" link with Great Britain, but its activities generally area-political, being mainly social and charitable. It certainly has not served as a focus for the sentiment of the English-speaking section as such.

One organization which deliberately sought to achieve that purpose and to stimulate the sense of community of interest of English-speaking South Africans was the Union of English-speaking South Africans (UNESSA). It attempted to consolidate English-speaking unity as a counter-weight to Afrikanerdom. It did not, however, succeed in securing a large membership, nor did it succeed in accomplishing any specific objectives. It represented, in the end, a rather ineffectual reaction to alleged Afrikaner domination; it would appear that most English-speaking South Africans either do not believe such domination exists, or, if they do, they have a sense of helplessness that reduces them to apathy (or emigration), or else they are too comfortably prosperous to be concerned about such questions. Whatever the cause, they lack a unity of sentiment and purpose sufficient to sustain them as an effective force.

1. The Nature and Influence of Afrikaner Nationalism

The presently favoured term for the South African government's racial policies is "separate development". Unfortunately, as many critics of these policies have pointed out, separation often appears to be pursued for its own sake with little recognition of the needs of development. An outstanding case in point is the government's determination to segregate professional associations. This policy was announced towards the end of 1962. The government then

---informed professional and scientific organizations which were in receipt of subsidies ... that unless they amended their constitutions in such a way as to exclude Non-Whites from membership their subsidies would be terminated. The Non-Whites could form separate societies, it was said.¹

In the subsequent debate it was pointed out that eight or nine associations would be affected, with a combined membership of some 14,000 members, of whom 14 or 15 were Non-Whites.² The Minister of Education, Arts and Science received representations from both the S. A. Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns³ and the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies of South Africa, and agreed to postpone application of the policy pending further discussion within those bodies. In announcing this

1. Muriel Horrell; A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa: 1964 (S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1965), p. 303.
2. Ibid. If the three Japanese (classified as Whites in South Africa) are excluded, the number is reduced to 11 or 12.
3. Trans. The S.A. Academy for Science and Art.

postponement, however, the Minister warned that it would be of limited duration only:

For the financial year 1964-65 I will still continue paying these subsidies to the associations as in the past, hoping that during the present year a basis will be found for implementing the policy of the Government. If this hope is, however, not realized, I shall have no other choice but to stop the subsidies for 1965-66.¹

In this case, even if a much larger number of Non-Whites was involved, it would seem impossible to justify the separation in terms of development. Mathematics does not develop separately for Whites and Non-Whites, nor is its study advanced by being studied separately. But if the small number of Non-White members is taken into account, then the object appears to be not development, not even separation, but simply exclusion.

These comments have not been offered merely in order to condemn. In the over-all picture of South African society, it might be said to be a matter of relatively slight importance. Without doubt other examples could be found in which many more people were affected in ways much more vital to their development and well-being. Nevertheless, the case is important as an illustration of the attitudes of Afrikaner nationalism, and not least because of its relatively petty

1. Op. cit., p. 304. I have not been able to discover whether the policy was in fact implemented in 1965.

nature: the State bringing its mighty power to bear on scientific (not even political) associations in order to rescue their 14,000 members from contact with a dozen Non-Whites.

Afrikaner nationalism¹ is negative in the sense that it reacts negatively to other groups and forces; it is assertive in the sense that it sets before itself a set of goals and values deriving from a concept of "Afrikanerdom"; and it is exclusive and therefore introverted. The facts of South African history, or at least those facts that are recollected for nationalist ("nation-building") purposes represent a long and growing accumulation of evidence of the threat of hostile influences: the British occupation of the Cape, the influence of the missionaries on the British administration, with its alleged preference for the interests and opinions of Hottentots and Xhosas over those of the god-fearing Boers, the colour- (and therefore status-) blindness of British justice, the attempt, early (under Somerset) and late (under Milner), to force the English language on an unwilling people, the unscrupulous annexation of the diamond fields, the annexation of the Transvaal, complicity in the Jameson Raid, provocation of the Anglo-Boer War, farm-burning and concentration camps (not to mention allegations of mass-poisoning) during that war, and

1. At least some of these elements of Afrikaner nationalism are of course common to other nationalisms.

the continuing arrogance and jingoism of the English section even after the formation of the Union. Such would be a brief and partial list of the "wrongs" that have led the Afrikaners to believe that they have had to fight for their existence as a separate people against the alien British -- the progenitors of "liberalism" and also, if inconsistently, the exponents of imperialism, "enemy" concepts both.

Again, the Afrikaners have survived for centuries in South Africa in the face of the dangers represented by the Bantu; cattle raids were the earliest complaints, and they still persist particularly on the Basutoland Borders; wars and raids, murder and thieving, have, in the Afrikaner view, been the fruit of their contact with the African tribes. And more than their lives and property has been persistently in danger. Just as the Afrikaner "way of life" has been threatened by British humanitarianism and liberalism, it, too, has been menaced by the surrounding milieu of Black paganism, superstition, witchcraft, polygamy and divergences in moral standards, and as well, although it is a matter best not talked about, by the constant "availability" of buxom maidens. (Hence the enduring emphasis on "racial purity" and such Acts as the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act).

Afrikaner nationalism is not, however, wholly negative. The sense of threat gives it its particular edge, but it is as a threat to a shared particular set of values that the

hostile environment is most feared. Whether the unity of the Afrikaner people is regarded as a value or is itself merely an expression of the values that they share is a philosophical question the examination of which would take us too far from our main theme. It certainly is regarded as a value in itself by Afrikaners themselves, and their writings and speeches are full of references to "Afrikanerdom," the "volk", the "Afrikanernasie" or sometimes even now to the "Boerenasie", or simply the "nasie".¹ There is no doubt that the Afrikaners believe themselves to be a separate community, that they have a strong sense of loyalty to this community, and that all other communities (even those existing in South Africa) are felt to be, in greater or lesser degree, alien, and that certain values or virtues reside peculiarly in this community. Moreover, the long struggle for survival as a distinct community, coupled with their strong Calvinism, has led them to believe not only that their survival was the proof of special protection by God (who, therefore, must have willed it), but, because of that, in its turn, proof sufficient that God has marked them out for a special destiny or purpose.

Absorption in, or assimilation to, other groups or communities, not only threatens the continued survival of "Afrikanerdom" and is therefore a betrayal of it, it also

1. There is no real English equivalent of "Afrikanerdom"; it is the collectivity of Afrikaners. The "volk" is an alternative to the "nasie", or nation, whether in general or particularised as the Afrikaner or Boer nation, bearing in mind the clear distinction in Continental terminology between "nation" and "state".

threatens the survival of the values uniquely expressed by Afrikanerdom, and, more even than that, amounts to a rejection of God's special purpose for "His" people.

The most patent visible sign of Afrikanerdom is the Afrikaans language. This is a language which, to use appropriately emotive terms, has grown and been nourished in the very soil of South Africa. Predominantly Dutch in roots, it has been enriched by contact with other languages -- French, Malay, German, English -- and at the same time it has gradually shed most of the Dutch inflexions. While Afrikaans philologists diligently examine the various processes and influences that have contributed to its emergence and thus display the "naturalness" of its evolution, nevertheless an aura of mystique still surrounds the language, and reference is frequently made to the "wonder" or even the "miracle" of Afrikaans. The fact that it is not only unique but also that it is the language even now of less than two million people enhances the emotional attachment of the Afrikaner to it.¹ To attack, to deride, or in any way to depreciate the Afrikaans language, is, indeed, to attack or to wound the Afrikaner in

1. In his significantly titled Die Wonder van Afrikaans ("The Wonder of Afrikaans") (Nasionale Handelsdrukkery, Elsie'srivier, 1959), at p. 6, Dr. P. J. Nienaber quotes an early poet and protagonist of the cause of Afrikaans: In our wonderful Afrikaans ... I have found my pearl of great worth, for which, had I been called upon to make the payment, to yield up all my other possessions, would have been a cheap price.

his most sensitive spot. It would not be an unfair comparison to say that his language to the Afrikaner is what his black skin is to the African.

But more than that: the Afrikaans language is regarded not only as a means of communication, but also as the embodiment of the Afrikaans culture, indeed, its "soul". "Afrikaans", a Nationalist Member of Parliament once said, "is not just the spoken language or the written language of the Afrikaans nation. Language as such is not only a medium. The language is the people ... It is the whole conscious life of an individual and of a nation. That conscious life is the continual creation of images and ideas, and one can only create ideas from personal experience ... Only from the experience of the Afrikaner who speaks this language can we have the creation of his images, his ideas, his deepest thoughts..."¹ The Afrikaner --or at any rate, the Afrikaner intellectual-- believes that he can only be fully himself when expressing himself in the Afrikaans language; for, indeed, he is only fully himself as a member of the Afrikaans nation. The two ideas, however, are really one, "because the fact that there is an Afrikaans language proves to us that there is an Afrikaans nation."²

1. Mr. Mostert in House of Assembly Debates, March 22, 1955, vol. 88, cols. 3068-69.

2. Mr. J.E. Potgieter, ibid., col. 3087

Afrikaners nevertheless believe that there are other characteristics of the Afrikaans nation besides their sense of unity and their language. The authors of Kerk en Stad ("Church and City") list what they regard as the characteristic features of the farming environment in which the Afrikaans community itself was born and in which, indeed, even urban Afrikaners still feel themselves rooted.¹ As farmers, the authors assert, the Afrikaners have a sense of their direct dependence on the work of God, and in consequence are deeply religious, conscious of the need for prayer and therefore of the need to live a "pious, honourable life that can count on God's protection."² They comprised, moreover, a remarkably uniform community: the Afrikaner "goes around with his own kind of people, people of the same race, language, occupation, problems and religion as his own";³ in which, too, everyone respected the same traditions.⁴ There was a sense of stability and permanence; the life was simple and largely self-sufficient, calm and tranquil.⁵

The picture, especially in view of its source and purpose, may be over-painted and idealized; but it is as an ideal that it is important --the ideal of a stable, tightly-knit, God-fearing

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1. One of the peculiar features particularly of the smaller towns is the number of Afrikaans professional men --doctors, lawyers, teachers, academics --who buy and run farms in the neighbouring country.
 2. Albertyn, J.R., du Toit, P., and Theron, H.S., Kerk en Stad: Verslag van die Kommissie van Budoersok van die Gefedereerde N.G. Kerke na kerklike en godsdienstige toestande in die nege stede van die Unie van Suid-Afrika ("Report of the Commission of Inquiry of the Federated Dutch Reformed Churches into church and religious conditions in the nine cities of South Africa"), (Pro Ecclesia Drukkery, Stellenbosch, 1948), p. 209.
 3. Ibid., p. 43.
 4. Ibid., p. 208.
 5. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

community, proud of its race, language and traditions. To members of this community, therefore, the city is an alien world that threatens to undermine their values and accepted forms of behaviour and thus threatens the disintegration of the Afrikaans community itself.

The authors of Kerk en Stad deal in turn with some of the conflicting norms of urban life: dependence of men is apparently substituted for dependence on God; the anonymity of city life loosens the restraining influence of public opinion; the heterogeneity of the city surrounds him with a mass of varied colours, races and peoples; stability gives place to mobility and change; thrift to frivolous expenditure; independence to economic servitude; quietness of life to restlessness; racial intermingling threatens the colour-sense of the Afrikaner, spiritual indifference his religion.¹ In this alien city-life, the authors ask, "...will there be enough inherent strength to produce a healthy, normal child; namely, a family that will bear the image and pride of its ancestor? Or a deformed, unrecognizable product, a disgrace to its forefathers?"²

This, then, is the basic fear: that the values and virtues, the language, religion, culture and tradition, all the essential qualities of Afrikanerdom, will be submerged in the alien flood; that the English language will replace Afrikaans, that materialis

1. Ibid., pp. 42-46.

2. Ibid., p. 218, Translated.

will triumph over the spiritual life, that racial intermingling will destroy racial purity, that a destructive humanist-liberalism will destroy Christian-national ideals. Before the mass-migration of Afrikaners to the cities, the natural barricades against threats of this kind were in good order. In the new circumstance however, new forms of defence have to be devised to counteract the threat of "de-nationalisation".¹ To a large extent, the answer is found in a combination of "correct" education (i.e. Christian-National Education) and the establishment within the Afrikaans community of all the groups needed to satisfy group interests and purposes, and, as well, to link them together in service to the over-riding purposes of Afrikanerdom itself. Moreover, since Afrikanerdom is itself an exclusive concept, this movement of Afrikaner nationalism must, in its turn, display this exclusive characteristic. Its deliberate purpose is not to serve the needs and interests of some vague "Humanity" or "Society", but to preserve the values and traditions of the Afrikaner, to be true to their forefathers and to the God of their forefathers. Only Afrikaners can commit themselves to such a purpose (although, of course, not all Afrikaners do), and even for them to do so they must misapply the Biblical injunction to separate themselves from the surrounding world.

1. This is the theme, for example, in G.D. Scholtz, Het die Afrikaanse Volk in Toekoms? ("Has the Afrikaans People a Future?") (Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg, 1954). Cf. the statement cited in Albertyn, du Toit and Theron: "For some Afrikaners the cities are not the advance posts of a triumphant Afrikaans culture, but the burial place of the Afrikaner soul." Op. cit., p. 49 (Translated)

Léo Marquard, in most matters a most perceptive and reliable commentator on South Africa, fails, from this point of view, to give due emphasis to the motive power of Afrikaner nationalism when he writes:

On the committees of voluntary societies and of sporting bodies there frequently are members who cannot understand Afrikaans and for whose benefit the proceedings must be in English; but the exercise of tact and good will usually overcome these awkward situations. Afrikaners tend to dissociate themselves from organizations that are so predominantly English-speaking that there is little hope of gaining recognition for Afrikaans.¹

There are, of course, societies and associations which contain both English and Afrikaans members;² there are, no doubt, Afrikaans societies which have separated from the English counterparts primarily in order to be able to use their own language; but among the duplicate organizations the formative influence would appear far more generally to be ideological in one form or another. As Professor Gwendolen Carter sums up the argument put forward here, Afrikanerdom's "closely knit unity is the creation³ of a host of organizations which have more or less consciously sought to overcome the traditional divisions within Afrikanerdom, and develop political, economic and cultural fronts which reflect its common ideals and purposes."⁴

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1. Léo Marquard, The Peoples and Policies of South Africa (2nd. ed., Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1960), p. 58.
 2. This is particularly true of professional associations, farmers' unions, and sporting bodies.
 3. The word "creation" may be appropriate if it refers to the present "closely knit" nature of Afrikaner unity, but it is not appropriate if it refers to the unity itself.
 4. Gwendolen M. Carter, The Politics of Inequality (Thames and Hudson, London, 1958), p. 250.

2. The Major Afrikaner Private Associations

Apart from the National Party itself, there are three Afrikaans organizations that perform a co-ordinating function among the mass of private associations existing within the Afrikaner community. The National Party should not be understood by this, however, to exist outside of, or divorced from, this complex of organizations: there is, on the contrary, an inter-relationship in ideals and purposes that in large measure accounts for the strength of the National Party, and that, indeed, extends the objects and purposes of the Party beyond the purely political, and, by the same token, intrudes politics into the otherwise social, economic and cultural objects of the other private associations. The boundaries of "politics" are always hard to define; but in this context the task is almost impossible. Nevertheless, at least for purposes of presentation, it is preferable to confine ourselves here to those associations whose objects and methods are not directly, or at least overtly, political.

There is one other preliminary difficulty, and that refers to the extent to which planned co-ordination is attempted and achieved by the three organizations under discussion. On that question no definite answer can be given at this stage, but Professor Carter's conclusion might serve as a useful working hypothesis and may well, in the end, be as near to the truth of the matter as one may hope to get in the present stage of our knowledge:

Surveying the field of Nationalist Afrikaner organizations and influences [she writes], one of the most striking facts is its interlocking directorate of personalities. It is less that any group is consciously trying to influence the others and/or the National Party than that the same people belong to all, or nearly all of them.¹

The four organizations which occupy a particularly central position in this network of organizations are: the Dutch Reformed Churches, the F.A.K. (Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultureelverenigings),² the Broederbond, and the former Reddingsdaadbond.

a) The Dutch Reformed Churches

The latest available full census returns on religious affiliation are those of the 1951 Census. According to these returns, there were 1,502,791 whites with Afrikaans as their home language and 1,402,703 members of the Dutch Reformed Churches³ -- i.e. even allowing for other white, non-Afrikaans members, the Afrikaners likely form over 90 per cent of the Dutch Reformed Churches' membership. The Sample Tabulation based on the 1960 census returns suggest a slightly lower figure, but still over 90 per cent of the Afrikaans population. More comprehensively than any other organization or society, the National Party included, the Dutch Reformed Churches collectively represent the Afrikaans community; indeed the two bodies are virtually coterminous.

1. Ibid., p. 280.

2. Trans. "Federation of Afrikaans Culture Societies".

3. Figures quoted from Stanley Trapido, "Political Institutions and Afrikaner Social Structures in the Republic of South Africa", in The American Political Science Review, vol. LVII, no. 1, March 1963, p. 83n.

The Dutch Reformed Churches represent the Afrikaans community in a deeper way however than mere coincidence of membership. From the early days of the "trekboer", the Church has been the core of the communal life of the Afrikaans people. The "predikant" has always been the leader of his people, the arbiter of their morals and the guardian, too, of their morale. During the Anglo-Boer War the "predikants" were in the forefront of the struggle, some of them as vigorous combatants; and when it was over, they held the community together, restored its self-respect and, especially in the field of education, laid the foundation for its vigorous preservation in the generations to come. The Church, therefore, represents the continuity of Afrikanerdom; it is also its spiritual core, giving it its dogma, its faith and its sense of destiny, and as such it occupies a position of leadership and influence.

This applies collectively to the Dutch Reformed Church as a whole in South Africa, irrespective of the particular branch. In fact, there are three Churches: The Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (N.G.K.), the largest, with well over a million European adherents; the Nederduits Hervormde Kerk, the old state church of the Transvaal Republic and still predominantly centred in the Transvaal, with a total membership among whites of slightly under 200,000; and the Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid-Afrika, the "Dopper" Church, as it is popularly known, the most rigidly Calvinist of them all, with somewhat over 100,000 white members and with the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education as its centre. It is largely under the influence of

the "Dopper" Church that even fishing is forbidden on Sundays in the Orange Free State. The distinction, however, is a matter only of degree, and of no very great degree either. All three churches are Calvinist and "Reformed" churches in the full senses of the terms; and, indeed, the term "Dutch Reformed Church" is used to refer to them all, and only in a particular context is it necessary to distinguish them.

In political philosophy, again with some difference in emphasis, all three churches put forward a Calvinist theory of the State, with its function being ultimately the salvation of its subjects and with sovereignty residing ultimately in God. This doctrine was set out fully in a document adopted by the Federal Council of the N.G.K. in 1951. That document went on to apply the doctrine more specifically to South Africa. Its importance justifies a lengthy quotation from Léo Marquard's summary of it:

...the greatest problem lies in the ideas of the revolutionary democratic school of Rousseau. According to those ideas all men are equal and, therefore, every individual is a sovereign and a lawgiver; all, white and black, must participate in the making of laws. The mass of individuals then become the source of State authority...This is nothing more nor less than the myth of sovereignty opposed to God. To the Christian, on the other hand, the franchise is a means of grace that must be used with the greatest care and responsibility to God. The Christian does not regard the franchise as qualifying him to make laws, which is a function of the State; the vote, for the Christian, is always a symbol of God's sovereignty and every vote cast must reflect the will of God.

...Those who do not have the franchise are by no means slaves or oppressed people. They still have civic rights and are protected by the government. The franchise is a treasure which should belong only to those who are of age politically and are able to use it responsibly before God. The African does not fulfil these requirements, and, therefore, will not be able to use this right correctly... Not only undeveloped groups, but all those who are openly in rebellion against God, such as the Communists, should not be given it. In a Christian state, therefore, the necessary qualification is not only that a man should be of age, but that he should be a Christian.¹

The extent to which Calvinism as such influences Afrikaner political behaviour remains a relatively unexplored field, at least in depth and detail. There can be little doubt, however, but that such an investigation would confirm the view that Afrikaners (at least the orthodox, "true" Afrikaners) regard the State as a divine institution, the Government as the instrument of God's will, and that the superstitious, pagan Bantu are not an appropriate element in the determination of the Government. At the same time, the Church itself cannot openly advocate or acquiesce in oppression. As a solution to the problem of avoiding the integration of the African on the one hand and oppression on the other, the Church turns, in the short term, to the concept of guardianship, and, in the long term, to the doctrine of apartheid, or separate development.

1. Léo Marquard, op. cit., pp. 212-213.

Particularly with regard to the latter, the Church is very conscious that it is an Afrikaans Church, that it is articulating the spritual ideals of the people among whom it is set. From another point of view it may be said that the Afrikaner churchman finds it as difficult to escape from his own Afrikaans-ness as does the politician, and just as the latter expresses the Afrikaans weltanschauung in political terms, so does the former in religious terms. Moreover, the D.R.C. has just as direct and central interest in the maintenance of Afrikanerdom as a cohesive unit as has the National Party. For both, but perhaps indeed to a greater degree for the Church than for the Party, the disintegration of the Afrikaans community would threaten disaster. Both Church and Party, then, stress the unifying ideals of Afrikanerdom, and both seek to avoid any open conflict between them. When open controversy broke out within the Church over apartheid policies, the D.R.C. press itself stressed the political implications of dissension. Woord en Daad warned its readers of the danger of creting divisions among the Afrikaans people,¹ and Die Oosterlig, more specifically, argued that the controversy might "divide the energies of the Afrikaner and make him weaker against his opponents within and outside South Africa."²

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1. Woord en Daad, January 6, 1961. Woord en Daad is the organ of the Afrikaanse Calvinistiese Bond.
 2. Die Oosterlig, January 18, 1961.

The Transvaal N.G.K. Synod had as early as 1944 stressed the need for apartheid whereby all races could "achieve the highest possible level of racial independence", although "independence" was imperfectly apprehended, for at the same time it identified the policy of the Church with the policy of "racial separation and guardianship of whites over natives."¹ Subsequent Synods in 1950, 1951, 1953 and 1956 "stressed the African right to national self-determination."²

The doctrines of the Church, therefore, have supported in happy harmony the policies of the National Party -- but not without occasional dissent. Dr. Ben J. Marais of the Theological Seminary, Pretoria, had published in 1952 his still influential Colour: Unsolved Problem of the West (Howard Timmins, Cape Town); and this was followed in 1956 by Professor B.B. Keet's Whither South Africa? (Stellenbosch University Press). Both these works by highly respected, indeed particularly in the case of Keet, venerated figures of the Church, were searching analyses of South African racial problems. But in 1960 diversion reached the point of bitter controversy. The occasion was the conference sponsored by the World Council of Churches. Attended by, among other, delegates from the three Dutch Reformed Churches, the conference passed a series of resolutions that amounted to a rejection of the

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1. Gwendolen M. Carter, Separate Development: The Challenge of The Transkei (S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1966), p. 3.
 2. Ibid., p. 5.

apartheid policies expounded by the Government and endorsed by D.R.C. synods. As a result all three churches withdrew from the World Council of Churches.

Meanwhile, also towards the end of 1960, eleven D.R.C. leaders published a book that inveighed even more bluntly against apartheid as a solution that would be both Christian and¹ practicable.

These expressions of dissent produced a wave of indignant reaction. In one Transvaal town a protest meeting resolved that the authors of Delayed Action? would not be welcome in their town² for as long as they retained their views. A government Senator warned against the dangers of Communist and "liberalist"³ infiltrators in the World Council of Churches. And Die Kerkbode,³ the official organ of the N.G.K. published an article entitled "We Believe" that reiterated the orthodoxy of apartheid. "We believe", it said in part, "that White and non-White in South Africa, in the light of different cultural peculiarities, psychological differences, biological differences and differences in political aspiration, as well as group affiliation, stand under different laws of life. This calls for self-realisation⁴ in one's own manner."

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1. A.S. Geyser et al., Delayed Action? (N.G. Kerkboekhandel, 1960).
 2. Die Vaderland, January 7, 1961.
 3. Senator J. Grobler in Dagbreek, January 15, 1961.
 4. Die Kerkbode, January 11, 1961.

The predominantly English-speaking Churches of South Africa have all from time to time issued official protests against and denunciations of aspects of the Government's race policies, while among the leaders of more general protest movements in South Africa prominent Church leaders are always to be found. Between the Dutch Reformed Churches and the other Churches in South Africa a powerful barrier of political ideology has developed; and, in consequence, co-operation between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Churches, never really strong in the first place, has become minimal.

Despite instances of courageous dissent among its members, the Dutch Reformed Churches remain, it must be concluded, a divisive factor in the greater South African society. Its focus is too narrowly fixed on the Afrikaner community; it encourages rather than seeks to modify Afrikaner exclusivism; and it is too completely identified with the National Party.

Within this area, however, the Church has not only a cohesive but also a co-ordinating function. The authors of Kerk en Stad thus emphasise the historic role of the church as "the oldest and largest Afrikaans institution", a position that enables it to speak as "a father of the volk". They pay tribute to the variety of new Afrikaner bodies that have developed as demonstration of the vitality of the Afrikaner volk and to the co-ordinating roles of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (F.A.K. - Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies) and the Reddingsdaadbond (R.D.B. - Rescue Action

League), but go on to say: "Although the Church has its own defined territory, and is unable and unwilling to intrude directly in the broad economic and social spheres, it can inspire, idealise the struggles of everyone..."¹

b) Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (F.A.K.)

The F.A.K. was created on December 18, 1929, by the Broederbond in order to initiate and co-ordinate Afrikaner cultural activity. Professor Gwendolen Carter has written: "The chief role in coordinating Afrikaner cultural, religious, educational and economic societies is performed by the F.A.K..."² This is at any rate true at the immediate level; but it is quite possible that the F.A.K. is itself an agency of the Broederbond. Certainly the chart of Broederbond organisation as at 1943³ shows the F.A.K. as one of the institutions falling under "complete Broederbond control", but whether this has remained the case is difficult to establish.

Even, however, if it no longer falls under the complete and direct control of the Broederbond, the familiar pattern of inter-locking management personnel operates in order to ensure co-ordination of activity of the Broederbond, F.A.K. and other organizations. In 1960, for example, the Chairman of the

1. Op. cit., pp. 83-84.

2. Op. cit., p. 256.

3. See Appendix.

Executive Committee was Dr. Thom, Rector of Stellenbosch University, and reputedly former head of the Broederbond, the Vice-Chairman and First Secretary was I.M. Lombard, formerly Secretary of the Broederbond and still a prominent member, while other officers included the Rev. G.J.J. Boshoff, a D.R.C. minister in Johannesburg, J.H. Stander, Assistant Director of Education in Natal (reputedly a member of the Broederbond, and appointed to his position by the central government in spite of the implacable opposition of the Natal Provincial Executive Committee), and Dr. P.J. Meyer, Chairman of the Board of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, and subsequently, it is believed head of the Broederbond.¹

Culture to the Afrikaner is by no means an a-political concept. Dr. Dönges, who has been a leader member of all Nationalist Cabinets since 1948, gave clear expression to the Afrikaner concept of culture when he addressed the 1937 F.A.K. Congress: "culture is to the nation what character is to the individual ... It is the ideology of a nation as expressed in every sphere of national life and embraces art, religion, and customs, social, economic and national aspects of life."² If culture has this political context, so too, then, has the F.A.K.

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1. Cf. W.H. Vatcher, Jr., White Laager: The Rise of Afrikaner Nationalism (Praeger, New York, 1965), p. 188-n 6.
 2. Gwendolen M. Carter, op.cit., p. 256.

Dr. N.J. van der Merwe, in opening the 1937 congress declared, "The F.A.K. is born of strife and is even a product of a conflict of soul, in which the Afrikaner is searching for a united front against hostile forces which divide him, and smother his soul", and he went on to warn his hearers that "an enslaved people can only bring to light an enslaved culture."¹ The F.A.K., therefore, has been since the 1930's one of the main forces of resurgent Afrikaner nationalism.

The organizational structure of the F.A.K. is relatively simple -- as simple, indeed, as its offices are modest.² It has individual members, but its main source of strength is found in the groups and societies affiliated to, or co-operating with it. Every two years an F.A.K. congress is held, with delegates from affiliated bodies as well as individual donor members. In addition, the Afrikaans Nasionale Kultuurraad³ (A.N.K.) is composed of the executive committees of the co-operating bodies. Four members are elected by the congress and three by the A.N.K. to form the Executive Committee of the F.A.K. The Executive Committee is a voluntary body that meets regularly and "from time to time as required". In addition there is a smaller

1. Ibid.

2. These details are from Vatcher, op.cit., pp.90-91.

3. Trans. - "Afrikaans National Culture Council."

committee, the Dagbestuur or management committee, comprising Chairman, Vice-Chairman and one other member of the Executive Committee. Its functions, however, remain obscure, for it met only twice in 1956, compared with the four meetings of the Executive Committee in the same year. Finally, there is a small paid staff headed by a Secretary.

At the local level, the F.A.K. operates through the Skakelkomitees ("linking" or liaison committees) and Kultuurverenigings (cultural societies). The latter bodies organise dances, plays, music performances -- in short, concern themselves primarily with the type of function one would normally associate with a cultural body. The Skakelkomitees are more directly concerned with co-ordinating the functions and activities of the various organizations that are associated with the F.A.K. Their activities frequently impinge on the political front. The Johannesburg Skakelkomitee is quoted by Gwendolen Carter, for example, as urging the Afrikaner in its 1952 Report "to attend his Afrikaner Church, speak Afrikaans everywhere, read Afrikaans books and papers, send his children to Afrikaans medium schools, go to Afrikaner volk celebrations, buy Afrikaan products, support Afrikaner businesses, and make use of the services of Afrikaner welfare organizations."¹ In 1956, Mr. Harry Lawrence, speaking in the House of Assembly referred to a pamphlet distributed by the Randfontein Skakelkomitee to students of an

1. Op. cit., p. 257.

Afrikaans medium school, entitled Do's and Don'ts for Afrikaners, which similarly urged Afrikaners to speak only Afrikaans when speaking on the telephone, sending telegrams or shopping, and to support only Afrikaans shopkeepers, doctors, dentists and lawyers.¹

The real strength of the F.A.K. lies in the enormous number of bodies associated with it. When it started in 1929, these numbered only about twenty. This number grew to some three hundred by 1937 and to about five hundred by 1960. Vatcher provides some insight into the comprehensive span of Afrikaans society that these organizations constitute.

The F.A.K. classifies them as churches, women's organizations, teachers' organizations, and youth organizations. The provincial executive committee of each of the three divisions of the D.R.C. pays dues. This does not prevent individual Dutch Reformed churches from contributing, and a number do. The youth organizations co-operating with the F.A.K. include such groups as the Voortrekkers, the Afrikaner equivalent of the Boy Scouts, and the Afrikaanse Studentebond (A.S.B.). The affiliated bodies, which are organizations similar to the F.A.K., but limited to special interests, pay dues to the F.A.K., and receive its publications, but the F.A.K. does not instruct them as it does local F.A.K. branches. Among the affiliates are national cultural organizations, such as the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurvereniging (A.T.K.V.), an organization for railway employees; the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurbond (A.T.K.B.) for postal employees; the Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging Volk en Verdediging (A.K.V.V.) for members of the defense forces; the Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie (A.K.P.O.L.) for the police; and the Afrikaanse Verpleëbond (A.V.B.) for nurses. There is also a national association for Afrikaner folk music and dance.²

1. House of Assembly Debates, April 23, 1956, vol. 91, col.4168.
 2. Op. cit., p. 90.

The flourishing nature of the great majority of these societies is, moreover, an important indication of the continuing vitality of the Afrikaans culture as well as being a source of cohesion to Afrikanerdom itself.

c) The Reddingsdaadbond and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut

That Afrikaner nationalism is so strongly coherent and "all of a piece" is well demonstrated by the way in which culture and economics interact on and re-inforce each other. The centenary celebration of the Great Trek in 1938 served as a vivid reminder to the Afrikaner of the central event of his national past, although at the same time, perhaps accidentally, it awakened or strengthened the sympathy of English-speaking South Africans, particularly of the younger generation, for their Afrikaans-speaking compatriots. For the Afrikaner, however, it evoked something approaching a cultural re-genesis; and in particular, the hopes and assumed destiny of the original Trekkers were used as points of contrast with the hopelessness of the Afrikaner "poor Whites" drifting to the towns in increasing numbers as a result of the depression of the thirties. If this hopeless drift continued, Afrikanerdom would, it was feared, disintegrate and perish.¹ At the same time the fellow-feeling resulting from common membership in the volk provided the emotional

1. Cf. the speech by Dr. A.J. Stals at the Reddingsdaadbond Conference in 1941, quoted by Gwendolen Carter, op. cit., p. 258.

basis on which the work of "rescue" could be built. As the material conditions of Afrikaners improved and Afrikaner economic enterprise began to flourish and to play a stronger part in the national economy, the cultural or "national" (in the Afrikaner sense) function of economic activity instead of being neglected received fresh emphasis.

Many examples of this emphasis may be quoted. Thus, Dr. J.G. van der Merwe, the founder and former president of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (Afrikaans Commerce Institute), writing in 1963, said that the success and influence of the Handelsinstituut was "basically due to the fact that the organisation had maintained its feeling for the Afrikaner's religion, his culture and his politics"¹ and he later referred to the "higher calling" which the organisation served.² In similar vein, Dr. M.D. "arais, a member of the Head Committee, was reported as saying: "It is necessary that the Afrikaner stands in a strong economic position if he strives for cultural, spiritual and political maturity -- political independence without economic self-support (selfstandigheid) is a clinking metal."³ The economic activity of the Afrikaner was thus placed in the context of economic nationalism, and it is hardly surprising to hear reference by Dr. Jacobs, then Director of the Instituut, to the Afrikaner desire "to take over also the economic leadership of South Africa" --presumably having already achieved political leadership.

1. Volkshandel (The organ of the Handelsinstituut) Sept. 1963.

2. Volkshandel, November 1964.

3. In an address at the Commerce Leaders Course in Bloemfontein on October 1, 1965.

The continuing links between commerce, culture and politics is hardly surprising, from the point of view, fundamentally, of the comprehensive nature of Afrikaner nationalism in which all forms of activity are related to the whole --the progress of Afrikanerdom-- but, more directly, from the point of view, also, of the structure within which the economic advance of the Afrikaner took place, for the organizational progenitor of this structure was itself the F.A.K.

At the time of the Trek Festival, the Reverend J.D. ("Father") Kestell had called in a speech at Bloukrans for help for the "sunken" descendants of the Voortrekkers¹ under the slogan "A people saves itself".² In response, the F.A.K. called the first Economic Congress in 1939. At this congress, Dr. Schuurman amply demonstrated the urgency of the need. According to his figures, of the 1,120,000 Afrikaners, 300,000 (or more than one in four) could be classed as "poor whites".³ Other prominent speakers included Dr. Verwoerd and Dr. Dönges, while other leading "purified" Nationalists were also to the fore, among them, Dr. A. Hertzog, Dr. N. Diederichs, Dr. A.J.R. van Rhyn and Dr. A.J. Stals.⁴ The congress decided

1. Vatcher, op. cit., p. 93.

2. Volkshandel, September 1963, p. 33.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 37, and Vatcher, op.cit., p. 93. Whatever the motives behind this phenomenon were, there is little doubt that the National Party profited from its clear act of identification with the cause of "rescuing" the "sunken" volk.

to set up two bodies: the Economic Institute and the Reddingsdaadbond. The F.A.K. was called upon to establish the Economic Institute to implement the decisions of the Congress and to take the steps that it considered necessary for the economic uplift of the Afrikaner. This body was quickly set up and by the end of 1940 reported its objects as being: the expansion and strengthening of existing businesses; the founding of new undertakings; and the organizing of the small Afrikaner commercial firms into a strong organization; and the provision of guidance and financing.¹

The Reddingsdaadbond was established under the chairmanship of Dr. Diederichs, and, in affiliation with the F.A.K., developed an extensive organization. Its major activities were directed to the following causes: to raise the economic status of Afrikaans workers, particularly through the mobilization of Afrikaner capital, and, at the same time, as Dr. Dönges put it, "to keep the Afrikaner worker, in the midst of foreign elements, in his Church, language, and volk environment";² to break down the prejudice against and resistance to industry and commerce, so prevalent among the traditionally rural Afrikaners; to serve as an employment agency for the young Afrikaners in, or coming to, the towns; to give guidance and advice, and where necessary loans, to those seeking to start their own businesses; and; particularly in the rural areas, to stimulate the Afrikaans community to pool their capital resources in order to underwrite Afrikaner business.³

1. Volkshandel, loc. cit.

2. Quoted by Gwendolen Carter, op. cit., p. 259.

3. Loc. cit.

Meanwhile, in response to a letter from Dr. J.G. van der Merwe, the F.A.K. brought yet another body to life in the economic sphere. As a first step it appointed a Commission of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Dr. Diederichs. This Commission reported in favour of the founding of a Commerce Institute, and the F.A.K. accordingly appointed a committee to bring such a body into existence. As a result, on February 10, 1942, the founding Committee first met and shortly after, with the aid of both financial and administrative assistance from the R.D.B., the Founding Congress of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut met in Bloemfontein. Its aims and objects were defined as follows:

- "a) To investigate scientifically the trade problems of our country, and of the Afrikaner in particular;
- bb) To found one's own (i.e. Afrikaner) bureau for the collection and collation of information;
- mc) To make available to its members the results of its investigations and the collected information...;
- d) To act as mouthpiece and camp-fighter of the Afrikaner entrepreneur and Afrikaans commerce in general...;
- e) To put into operation closer contact and greater co-operation among Afrikaner undertakings."¹

The achievements of these and other economic organizations were such that in 1956 the R.D.B. felt in a position to dissolve

1. Volkshandel, op.cit., p. 43.

itself. No doubt the vigorous expansion of the South African economy in the post-war years was a powerful -- perhaps the most powerful-- factor; but it was undeniably vital that the Afrikaner should have been prepared to profit from this expansion and it was in this regard that these organizations played their most vital role. The need for the economic rescue of the Afrikaner people has therefore long passed. The growing inflow of Afrikaners into the commercial and industrial world, the rapid growth of Afrikaner capital investment, and, since the advent of the National Party to power in 1948, the increasing influence of Afrikaner commerce and industry in the governmental sphere, have all been factors in the rapid expansion of the Handelsinstituut in both numbers and importance. As to the growth in size, Dr. Jacobs, the Director of the Instituut showed in an address in October 1965 that where in 1943 no Afrikaans Takekamers (Chambers of Commerce) existed and the Instituut had only fifty members, by 1965 there were 225 Takekamers and 5,500 members. Its comprehensiveness is emphasised by Professor W.J. Pretorius, former President of the Instituut in these words:

The Handelsinstituut is today the only Commerce-organisation in the country that is representative of all branches of the economic life - namely commerce, industry, finance and mining. It is today, with reference to geographic spread, in comparison with similar affiliated societies, the strongest and most representative organisation in the country.¹

1. Volkshandel, October 1964, p. 1

Some indication of its influence is given by the Handelsinstituut in the list of Government and quasi-government bodies on which it is represented, which includes: The Economic Advisory Council of the Prime Minister; the National Production Commission, and advisory boards and committees for Harbours and Civil Aviation; the Bureau of Standards; the Tariff Advisory Committee; and advisory commissions and boards in the fields of Bantu Labour, Apprenticeship, Agriculture of various kinds, etc. In all, then, the Afrikaner can pride himself on his spectacular economic advance over the last twenty-five years.

Nevertheless, the advance is most impressive relative to the former condition of the Afrikaner. It remains relatively insubstantial when viewed in the perspective of the economy as a whole. As Dr. Jacobs himself admitted, the Afrikaner's share "in the gross domestic capital development cannot be anything else but relatively small." There remains a long road to travel before Dr. Jacob's goal of "economic leadership" is achieved. Dr. Marais stated that in 1961/62 the Afrikaner's share in the various economic sectors was as follows: Commerce, 28%; Finance, 13%; Manufacturing, 9%; and Mining, 10%.¹ A somewhat arbitrary assessment of the composition of 343 boards of directors as listed in the Investors' Financial Directory of Southern Africa, vol. 1, 1962, indicated that 254 were composed exclusively of English-speaking members, 9 exclusively of Afrikaans-speaking members, while 80 included one or more members from both racial groups.

1. Volkshandel, November 1964, p. 11.

To the Afrikaner, then, the economic sector still remains a world to conquer, a stimulus to nationalist endeavour. Testimony is offered by various writers to the effect that sentiment plays a dwindling role in Afrikaans economic activity. Nevertheless it still exists. Evidence of this is found in the words of Dr. Marais:

It must not be forgotten that the biggest and most successful Afrikaans commercial undertakings that exist today were built in the first instance on the support of Afrikaner compatriots and that their success today is in large measure the result of the determined and persistent loyalty of fellow-Afrikaners... In the new era we must not forget these old friends or throw them overboard...¹

The development of Afrikaans business owed at the minimum its initial impetus, as this statement reveals, to an at least partially successful campaign to persuade Afrikaners to do business with Afrikaans concerns. Banking and insurance in particular reaped the harvest of this campaign and laid the foundations for further commercial and financial advance. Part of the appeal of the campaign was found in the language issue: to deal in Afrikaans with Afrikaans firms rather than in English with English-speaking firms was thus represented as a means of giving Afrikaans its due. Part of the appeal, too, lay in the idea of mutual self-help, of loyalty to one's own group --an example of the exclusivist aspect of Afrikaner nationalism. And, perhaps, although this is more speculative, the contributions made by Afrikaner firms to National Party funds added to these

1. Volkshandel, November 1964.

appeals the appeal of party loyalty; although the same consideration produced in reaction a reluctance among the political opponents of the National Party to purchase the products of, or to deal with, Afrikaner firms believed to be linked to the National Party.¹

The purpose of such Afrikaan institutions as Sakekamers and the Handelsinstituut was similarly mixed. In part, it too, was a reaction to the fact that the existing Chambers of Commerce and of Industry and their respective Federations were predominantly English-speaking and that their proceedings accordingly were conducted in English. Consequently, in order to be able to use their own language, Afrikaans businessmen preferred to establish their own organization. But there was more to it than that; and still today political and ideological factors operate to maintain Afrikaner economic separatism. As illustrations of this the following ideologically loaded passages occur in an address given by Dr. M.D. Marais:

It is important to emphasize that those of us who are proud of the fact that we are Afrikaners and are determined in our own mind to preserve our own identity in the commercial life, are not at all narrow in our attitude towards economic affairs and specifically towards economic co-operation.

Dr. Marais went on, however, to set conditions to economic co-operation:

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1. Cf. the argument in Parliament over a circular allegedly issued (although this was denied) by the Black Sash (or Women's Defence of the Constitution League) in which the boycott by anti-Nationalists of a wide range of listed products was urged. House of Assembly Debates, April 23, 1956, Vol. 91, col. 4167 et seq.

What we do not believe in is to co-operate with any concern, whether in South Africa or outside, that does not - like us - place South Africa and its interests first, or, even more seriously, that is hostile to the direction of thought in our country as embodied in the general policy of the Government.

As a particular aspect of co-operation, Dr. Marais went on to deal with the question of Afrikaners serving as directors of English-speaking firms. In general, Dr. Marais was not opposed to this, but, he warned, Afrikaners should not accept directorships when the reason for their appointment was to gain a key to Afrikaans capital; nor should they accept directorships in firms directly competing with Afrikaans firms; and, finally, no Afrikaner who is "worth his salt" should "under any circumstances... serve on the direction of any undertaking that shows political and other tendencies towards sabotage, not only against the Government but also against the whole Afrikaans line of thought."¹

d) The Broederbond

What is the Broederbond and its function in Afrikaner society and politics? In spite of two commissions, one appointed by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1949 and the other appointed by the Nationalist government in 1964, there still remains no certainty on this question. Is it, as some allege, a sinister secret society that dominates all Afrikaans societies and organizations from the Dutch Reformed Church to the National Party itself? Or is that picture simply a "bogey" conceived for

1. Volkshandel, December 1964.

propaganda purposes? The probable answer is that it is more than a "bogey", and that it is an organization that does exercise considerable influence; but the extent of that influence -- whether, for example it can and does issue binding directives -- remains unknown. It is, moreover, probable that its role in the Afrikaner community has varied according to the circumstances and mood of that community.

The Bond was formed during the period 1918-1919, but it became a secret society only in 1922 --a decision that radically changed its character, despite protestations to the contrary. In its early years the Bond appears to have concerned itself primarily with cultural and economic matters, although in the Afrikaner context it is always difficult to separate these spheres from the political. The F.A.K. was itself a Broederbond project, so was Volkskas (the first Afrikaner bank). It contributed to the Reddingdaadsfonds and to the repatriation of the Argentine Boers. It was very probably behind the setting up of the separate Afrikaans Mine-workers Union and the split between English- and Afrikaans-speaking University students that produced the Afrikanse Studentebond. Under its narrow doctrine of the ware Afrikaner (true Afrikaner) it exercises an exclusivist function. As Brian Bunting has written:

Under the influence of the Broederbond, Afrikaners were encouraged to withdraw everywhere from organizations in which they mixed with the English-speaking section and to establish their own organizations run on their own lines instead.¹

1. Brian Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1964), p. 52.

With the emphasis on the "Christian-National" conception of the state which the Bond endorses, the powerful Christian-National Education (C.N.E.) movement is certainly in line with Broeder policy. Indeed, given the large number of teachers who are Broeders and the Broeder interest in education there is a reasonable assumption that C.N.E. is a realm of direct Broeder activity. The separate Afrikaans teachers' associations similarly fall under the same suspicion. Indeed there are grounds for suspecting that all Afrikaans educational organizations, including teachers' training colleges, and, indeed, the education departments of the Nationalist-controlled provinces are to some extent imbued with C.N.E. concepts and to a greater or lesser extent under the influence of the Broederbond.

Of equal concern has been the link between the Bond and the D.R.C. In 1952 it was asserted that in the select band of the Broederbond there were 357 clergymen.¹ The Rev. W. Nicol, Moderator of the D.R.C. in the Transvaal for three consecutive synods, and subsequently Administrator of the Transvaal, was a prominent Broeder -- even, it has been alleged, one of the "Trinity". Although the Bond was cleared by the D.R.C. commission in its 1951 report of exercising undue influence on the Church, allegations of Broeder activity within the Church continue to be made -- e.g. in connection with the notorious heresy charges laid against Dr. Geyser. And a D.R.C. minister was quoted in 1960 as saying:

1. Ibid., p. 47.

Membership of the Church is wholly incompatible with membership of the Broederbond...The Church is called upon to testify on the righteousness of the State; it must even be free to criticize the Government. But if the Church is controlled as is the Government, by the Broederbond, it is in no position to discharge this duty... The gravest danger facing the Church today is that it may be prevented from being a universal testimony to a universal God, through involvement in local nationalist or party political aims.¹

It is perhaps significant that it is membership not of the Broederbond but of the Christian Institute that is regarded as incompatible with the D.R.C.

According to Professor J.C. van Rooy and I.M. Lombard, former Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Broederbond, membership is open only to those who "are Afrikaans-speaking, of Protestant belief, of clean character, who are firm in the principle of maintaining their Afrikanderhood and who accept South Africa as their only fatherland."² There is a minimum age limit of thirty-five. The Bond has never aimed at a large, comprehensive membership; rather its aim has been a select cross-section of the Afrikaans community, representing the various facets of its life. The representativeness of its membership aims at fuller, more informed discussion; and by its select character it hopes to secure those who will be able to influence the particular section of society from which they come. In accordance with these objects there is a strict and secret process

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1. Sunday Times, May 22, 1960. Quoted by Vatcher, op. cit., p. 86.
 2. In a series of five articles published in Die Transvaler in 1944 and summarised in English in The Friend. The latter summaries are reproduced as Appendix III in Vatcher, op. cit., pp. 277-284

of screening proposed new members. Membership is by nomination, not by application, and proposed new members must possess "zeal and readiness to work for national matters and to contribute regularly in money or otherwise without expectation of reward."¹

Membership policy is related to the Bond's mode of operation. As Bunting defines this, it is "to co-ordinate activities among Afrikaners and to ensure that Broeders are placed in key positions which can then be utilized for the advancement of the volk."² Although it claims to seek out "zealous young men" rather than established older men, among its members are (and have been) leaders of Afrikaner activity in every sphere: the Manager and Chairman of Volkskas, the Secretary of the Transvaalse Onderwysers Vareniging (Transvaal Teachers' Society), the Chief Organizer of the Reddingsdaadbond, the Reverend Nicol, Moderator of the D.R.C., the head of the A.T.K.V., Dr. Thom, Rector of Stellenbosch University and formerly head of the F.A.K., and the head of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, and former and present members of the Cabinet, including both Dr. Malan and Dr. Verwoerd, Dr. Albert Hertzog, and Dr. Diederichs, Dr. Dönges and Dr. Jansen, former Governor General.³

1. Van Rooy and Lombard, in Vacher, op. cit., p. 279.

2. Bunting, op. cit., p. 48.

3. This certainly does not exhaust the list of influential Broeders; but since 1922 Broeders have had to swear not to reveal the names of fellow-members, although they may declare their own membership.

According to the Military Intelligence Report on the Broederbond, prepared for General Smuts on March 29, 1944,¹ the Bond organization consists of the following levels;

The 'Trinity', consisting of the supreme chief and two assessor members from the Executive Council;

the Executive Council (or Uitvoerende Raad), consisting of twelve members, commonly known as the "Twelve Apostles", that meets annually or more often if need arises;

the General Council (or Algemene Raad), consisting of the Twelve Apostles and representatives from local branches;

Local Branches or Cells, consisting of five to ten members, which may be grouped into Divisions; and

Vigilance Committees operating at strategic points and reporting directly to the Executive Council.

According to van Rooy and Lombard, the aims of the Bond are:

(a) The establishment of a healthy and progressive unanimity among all Afrikaners who strive for the welfare of the Afrikaner nation.

(b) The awakening of national self-assurance among Afrikaners and the inspiration of love for the language, religion, traditions, country and people.

(c) The promotion of all of the interests of the Afrikaner people.

In a later article, Lombard listed the following seven ideals striven for in the political activities of Broeders:

1. Printed as Appendix II in Vatcher, op. cit., pp. 257-276.

- (1) The removal of everything that is in conflict with the full international independence of South Africa;
- (2) putting an end to the inferiority of the Afrikaans-speaking section and their language in state organizations;
- (3) the separation of the Coloured races in South Africa, while allowing them independent development under the guardianship of the European;
- (4) putting a stop to the exploitation of the resources and population of South Africa by foreigners, including more intensified industrial development;
- (5) the rehabilitation of the farming community and the guarantee of a civilized existence by employment for all European citizens;
- (6) the nationalization of finance and the systematic co-ordination of political economy;
- (7) the Afrikanerizing of public life and our education and teaching in the Christian national sense, leaving free the internal development of all sections of the community who do not constitute a danger to the state.

The restricted membership, the aims and the ideals taken together give evidence of the exclusivist character of the Bond that has formed the substance of one of the most serious charges against it. In 1948 L.J. du Plessis wrote that it aimed at "segregating all Afrikaans-speaking persons from the rest of the population and making them the exclusive and privileged element in South Africa."¹ General Hertzog in his famous Smithfield speech in 1935² quoted two significant passages, one by the Chairman of the Bond in 1932, and the other from a circular letter signed by van Rooy, the Chairman, and Lombard, the Secretary, and sent out by the Executive Council in 1934. In the first passage there occurred these words:

1. Quoted in Vatcher, op.cit., p. 79.
 2. The whole speech is printed in Vatcher, op.cit., Appendix I, pp. 243-256.

After the cultural and economic needs, the Afrikaanse Broederbond will have to dedicate its attention to the political needs of our people. And with this the aim must be a completely independent real Afrikaans Government for South Africa. A government which by its embodiment in our own personal Head of the State, bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, who will inspire us and bind us together to irresistible unity and power. ¹

And in the second passage:

Let us keep the eye fixed on this that the main object is ... that the Afrikanerdom shall reach its ultimate destiny of domination in South Africa ... Brothers, our solution for South Africa's troubles is not that this or that party shall gain the upper hand, but that the Afrikaner Broederbond shall rule South Africa. ²

For all his concern that the Afrikaner should enjoy his rightful place in South Africa's political sun, Hertzog always remained dedicated (and in the end it was his undoing in the National Party) to the principle that the English-speaking South African was equally entitled to his place. Hertzog was aware, however, that the Afrikaner to the Broederbond was in a special category. "Out of the dictates and stipulations of the Broederbond," he said, "...it appears quite clear, unfortunately, that when there is any talk by them about the Afrikaner or Afrikanerdom which must dominate South Africa, you and I, not being Brothers, are not included in it! We are not Afrikaners!" ³

1. Vatcher, op.cit., p. 246.

2. Ibid., pp. 246-247.

3. Quoted in Vatcher, op.cit., p. 248.

Or as the Military Intelligence Report put it: " 'Afrikanerdom' in the Afrikaner Broederbond sense of the word, refers only to the Afrikaners who believe in Afrikaner domination of South Africa."¹

One of the areas sensitive to suggestions of Broederbond activity is the civil service. Concern in this sphere arises from the question of the precise manner in which the mutual-help principle operates. This principle was first stated in an economic context. As embodied in Domestic Regulations quoted by Hertzog, it declared: "Furtherance of each other's interests in social life ... will be the duty of the Bond ... Brothers will, where possible, support each other's business with word and deed, and be intercessor one for the other when opportunity offers."² But, Hertzog went on:

Well do I know that responsible officials of the state, members of the Broederbond, have requests made to them by fellow-Brothers on the acknowledgement of preference of the interests of Brothers above those of non-Brothers. If I understand it well, the request is sometimes extended to such an extent as to state that Brothers in the service should allow the orders of the Broederbond to supersede even the lawful regulations of the civil service.

"Fortunately (he went on) these efforts fail..."³ The Military Intelligence Report, however, cited "one of the leading Broeders at one of the organization's annual conferences as saying that:

1. Ibid., p. 258.

2. Ibid., p. 252.

3. Ibid., p. 253.

The Afrikaner Broederbond must gain control of everything it can lay its hands on in every walk of life in South Africa. Members must help each other to gain promotion in the civil service or any other field of activity in which they work, with a view to working themselves up into important administrative positions.¹

In the end, in December 1944, Smuts placed a ban on civil servants being members of the Bond, and gave them the choice of resigning either from the Bond or from the service. One who preferred to resign from the service was Mr. Wentzel C. du Plessis. He was one Broeder who did not have to wait for Heaven to gain his reward, for he defeated Smuts in Smuts's own constituency in 1948, went on to become South African Ambassador to the United States and, in 1963, became Administrator of South West Africa.²

In his reply to Hertzog's Smithfield speech, Dr. Malan sounded so disingenuous in the face of Hertzog's very detailed attack that he lacks persuasion:

The Broederbond is nothing more than a non-political Afrikaans society which, where it is necessary, will take action for Afrikaans interests and will positively help up the Afrikaner, just as there are many other societies, each in its own sphere.³

Fourteen years later, Dr. Malan's defence was, if anything, even vaguer:

1. Ibid., p. 258.

2. Ibid., p. 82.

3. Quoted by Bunting, op.cit., p. 49.

I belong to the Broederbond, and I have attended many of its meetings. All I can say to you is that all the matters which are discussed there are in the interests of the people. No enmity towards the other section of the community has been apparent at any of these meetings I attended. No pressure is brought to bear on the government of the country from the Broederbond. I have always been able to discuss these matters of importance to all aspects of the life of the people and I have come away from these meetings feeling a better man than before.¹

In the end, we come back to our original question: What is the nature and function of the Broederbond? Is it, as Malan would have us believe, merely a benign guardian of the rights and interests of the Afrikaner, showing enmity to none? Or is it, as Smuts charged, "a dangerous, cunning, political Fascist organization"? Or something in between? Perhaps it is better to allow a well-informed "outsider" to sum up: "Whether or not it is more than a close association of like-minded persons dedicated to the advancement of Afrikanerdom, the Broederbond has contributed strongly, and perhaps dangerously, to the natural isolation of nationalist Afrikanerdom, as well as to its power."²

3. Conclusion

Whatever the present need for English-speaking cooperation with Afrikaners, and however sincere the Government's professed

1. Cape Times, September 7, 1949. Quoted by Bunting, op.cit., p. 51.
 2. Gwendolen M. Carter, op.cit., p. 255-6.

desire for the co-operation may be, the attitude of the Afrikaans community remains as summed up with respect to the Handelsinstituut by Dr. Marais: "Co-operation, yes. Amalgamation, never!" The Afrikaans community remains as it was fashioned by history, culture and religion, a separate community. And it remains so, also, of deliberate will and intent. As a result of these factors, but at the same time strongly reinforcing them, an Afrikaans social structure has been created which it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, for Afrikaners themselves to break down, even if the will to do so was present. In consequence, South African society (if the singular term is admitted) is characterised by an organizational multiplicity that must be very nearly unique. Not only are schools, universities, political movements, sporting clubs, music and artistic societies divided between White, Coloured, African and Indian; but among the Whites themselves we find the same duplication -- carried, however, to a higher degree because of the greater variety of social institutions in White society.

There are then English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking schools, training colleges, universities, teachers' associations, home-and-school associations; Voortrekkers as well as Boy Scouts; Noodhulpliga as well as the St. John's Ambulance; Afrikaans as well as English Women's Institutes; the Afrikaanse Studentebond alongside the National Union of South African Students (N.U.S.A.S.); Die Suid-Afrikaanse Buro van Rasse Aangeleenthede

(S.A.B.R.A. - the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs) as against the South African Institute of Race Relations (I.R.R.); an Afrikaans Automobile Association (Rondalia) as well as the Automobile Association (A.A.) and Royal Automobile Club (R.A.C.); an Afrikaans burial society; an Afrikaans charitable organization (Armesorg); Afrikaans insurance companies, banks and other corporate undertakings; Afrikaans trade unions; and, of course, the D.R.C., the F.A.K., the Handelsinstituut and the Broederbond. As a result, the Afrikaner --even the Afrikaner living in predominantly English-speaking Durban -- can live much of his life, participating in a normally full range of activities, in an Afrikaans milieu. And, on the other side of the coin, of course, almost of necessity, the English-speaking South African finds himself in much the same situation. Even as a member of the National Party he is obliged to belong to separate English-speaking branches.

In D.P. Truman's The Political Process the thesis is persuasively argued that one of the most (to Truman's mind, perhaps the most) powerful factors in social cohesion is the factor of overlapping membership of groups. Not only does this promote intercourse and communication across group boundaries, but it also promoted a convergence, or at least prevents too gross a divergence, of group claims and policies.

In South Africa, this factor is not wholly absent with respect either to actual or (to use Truman's term) potential groups. Nevertheless, at the patent level it is a factor that operates more fully within the Afrikaans- and English-speaking communities respectively than between them. Division is, therefore, marked and probably permanent; and strengthened by this division and in turn strengthening it is the National Party.

What, then, holds the White community together? No doubt the strongest factor is negative: fear of black domination on the one hand, and a sense of common patriotism on the other, evoked especially by the pressure of external criticism of South African policies. This has been especially noticeable since South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth --thus, ironically, producing a situation the reverse of that hoped for by those who most applauded it.

There have been, however, and are, other factors as well. Politically important is the fact that from 1910 to 1948 the ruling parties, of whatever complexion, ever elevated the concept of South African nationhood above that of Afrikanerdom (or English-ness for that matter). As we have seen, narrower sectarian organizations did develop and flourish during this period, but at least the broad concept of a South African loyalty was proclaimed by both the South African Party and the old Hertzog-ite National Party, and given even greater emphasis by the amalgamation of these two in the form of the United Party. Habituation to this official doctrine over so long a period must count as a powerful formative influence.

At the social level, the migration of Afrikaners to the towns has brought a measure of residential intermingling, contact in the work situation, and, in some areas at least, contact in schools. The effect of the Second World War, while it stimulated the growth of militant movements in the sector of narrow Afrikaner nationalism, again served to bring Afrikaners and English-speaking persons into closer contact and, for some at least, a sense of service for a common cause. Again, association on the sports fields and a common identification with national rugby, cricket, tennis and other sports teams, serve as a unifying bond among White South Africans. But above all, perhaps, there is the sense that Afrikaner and English have shared the history and share the land of South Africa and in the end share a common destiny, whether it is faced in separate compartments or not. Perhaps one day this same factor will promote a happier relationship between White and Black as well.

For all this, however, if for the present the analogue of the White Laager¹ is apposite, there remains a sense in which it is true to say that the Laager is still essentially an Afrikaner institution to which the English-speaking South African is somewhat grudgingly, as a matter of necessity, admitted -- provided he keeps to his own separate corner of it.

1. Cf. the title of Vatcher's book. The laager during the great trek was a barricade of wagons and thorn bushes constructed as a square or circle, inside which the Trekkers and their animals sought protection against the attacks of the 'Kaffirs'.

DIE AFRIKANER — BROEDERBOND (1943)

